1776 1876

# WASHINGTON

AT

# VALLEY FORGE

# ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO,

OR THE

# FOOT-PRINTS

OF THE

# REVOLUTION.

Phoebe I. Walton

SCHUYLKILL

Pontoon or Bridge over which the Army passed June 8th 1778

RIVER

PICKET

LIFE GAURDS

WASHINGTONS HEAD QUARTERS

ARTIFICERS

ARTIFICERS QUs

BRIDGE

McINTOSH

REDOUBT

HUNTINGDON

VARNUMS H.Q

REDOUBT

CONWAY

VARNUM

PICKET

WASHINGTONS H.Q.

PROVOST

RED UBT

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

MARQUEE

MAXWELL

WEEDON

PATTERSON

LEARNED

GLOVER

VALLEY FORGE

KNOX'S ARTILLERY

ARSENAL

REDOUBT

CHESTER COUNTY

WOODFORD

POOR

WAYNE

SCOTT

KNOX'S H.Q.

LAFAYETTE'S H.Q.

WOODFORD'S H.Q.

WAYNE'S H.Q.

# TOPOGRAPHIC VIEW OF Valley Forge

During the Encampment of Washington's Army.

IN THE WINTER OF 1777-78.

Geo. S. Harris & Son, Lith., Philada.

Scale: 16 Inches to the Mile.

Phoebe I. Walton

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BY THEO. W. BEAN.

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ELECTROTYPED.

# PREFACE.

THIS work is designed as a convenient guide, or hand-book, to "Valley Forge," a place conspicuously noted by the historians of the Revolution. It was associated with the operations of the Continental army during the most gloomy period of the protracted struggle for Independence, and will be visited by thousands of our countrymen and foreigners who come to Philadelphia in attendance upon the Centennial Exposition. The place possesses rare interest by reason of the intense suffering of the patriots who encamped there during the winter of 1777 under the immediate command of Washington, commander-in-chief of the American army. It is situated sixteen miles North-west of the Centennial Grounds, on the Philadelphia and Reading railroad, and can be reached at almost every hour in the day by train. The topographical work, representing Chadd's Ford, Paoli, Warren's Tavern, Germantown and the OLD CAMP GROUND, with the entire area of country traversed by Washington in defence of Philadelphia in the campaign of 1777, has been prepared with great care and will enable the visitor at a glance to comprehend the situation of Washington one hundred years ago at Valley Forge. The historical notes have been condensed, and yet contain, it is believed, all that the pilgrim to this spot will require to renew in his heart the debt of gratitude which we owe to the illustrious men who made these hills as notable as their lives have become memorable in the common history of our country.

T. W. B.

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MAPS.

VALLEY FORGE.

EAST PENNSYLVANIA.

BRANDYWINE.

PAOLI AND WARREN'S TAVERN.

GERMANTOWN.

BARREN HILL.

# THE REVOLUTION.

## CHAPTER I.

## Washington at Valley Forge.

On the tenth day of May, 1876, the World's visitors will begin to assemble at Philadelphia, in attendance upon the American Centennial Exposition. Thousands and tens of thousands of these strangers will find their way up the beautiful Schuylkill River to visit the Hills of Valley Forge, and view for themselves the broad field of operations embraced in the gloomy events closing the year 1777, and opening the succeeding one with such terrible suffering.

Not only was the winter of 1777–8 one of peculiar hardship to the common soldier of that period, but by all odds, it was the most critical hour in the long struggle, and required the exercise of the most profound judgment and sagacity of Washington and the distinguished General and Staff Officers who surrounded him in order to keep the field and preserve the army for future operations.

The visitant to the grounds of this historical encampment, standing upon the highest point, looking eastward, thence to the south, comprehends the entire area of the campaign, which began by the landing of Sir William Howe, at Elkton, Delaware, on the 18th of August, 1777, and closed on the memorable 11th of December of the same year, in Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, resulting in the defeat of Washington at Brandywine and Germantown, the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army during the following winter, and the withdrawal of the Continental army to the uninviting heights of Valley Forge.

At no period of the war, writes Chief Justice Marshall, "had the American Army been reduced to a situation of greater peril than during the winter at Valley Forge. More than once they were absolutely without food. Even while their condition was less desperate in this respect, their stock of provisions was so scanty that there was seldom at any time in the stores a quantity sufficient for the use of the troops for a week. Consequently had the enemy moved out in force the American Army could not have continued in camp. The want of provisions would have forced them out of it; and their deplorable condition with respect to clothes, disabled them from keeping the field in winter. The returns of the first of February exhibit the astonishing number of 3,989 men in camp unfit for duty for want of clothes. Of this number scarcely a man had a pair of shoes. Even among those returned capable of duty, very many were so badly clad that exposure to the colds of the season must have destroyed them. Although the total of the army exceeded 17,000 men, the present effective rank and file amounted to only 5,012. The returns throughout the winter did not essentially vary from that which has been particularly stated."

The situation of the camp was so eminently critical on the 12th of February, that General Varnum wrote to General Greene, "that in all human probability the army must dissolve. Many of the troops are destitute of meat and are several days in arrears. The horses are dying for want of forage. The country in the vicinity of the camp is exhausted. There cannot be a moral certainty of bettering our condition while we remain here, what consequences have we rationally to expect?"

On the 16th of the same month Washington wrote to Governor Clinton, "For some days past there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army has been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starved as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been, ere this, excited by their sufferings to general mutiny and desertion."

Dr. Thatcher in his private journal remarks, "that it was with the greatest difficulty that men enough could be found in a fit con-

dition to discharge the military camp duties from day to day, and for this purpose, those who were naked borrowed of those more fortunate of their comrades who had clothes. The army, indeed, was not without consolation," he adds, "for his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, whom every soldier venerates and loves, manifested a parental concern and fellow-feeling for their sufferings, and made every exertion in his power to remedy the evil and to administer the much desired relief."

"Yet amidst all this suffering, day after day," remarks Mr. Lossing, "surrounded by frost and snow, patriotism was still warm and hopeful in the hearts of the soldiers, and the love of self was merged into the holy sentiment of love of country. Although a few feeble notes of discontent were heard at times, and symptoms of intention to abandon the cause were visible, yet the great body of the army were content to wait for the returning spring and be ready to enter anew upon the field of strife for the cause of freedom. It was one of the most trying scenes in the life of Washington, but a cloud of doubt seldom darkened the serene atmosphere of his hopes. He knew that the cause was just and holy, and his faith and confidence in God as a defender and helper of right were as steady in their ministrations of vigor to his soul as were the pulsations of his heart to his limbs. In perfect reliance upon Divine Providence he moved in the midst of crushed hopes and planned brilliant schemes for the future."

Isaac Potts, at whose house Washington was quartered, having with him Mrs. Washington, in the winter of 1778, relates, that one day while the soldiers were encamped at Valley Forge he strolled up the creek, when not far from his dam he heard a solemn voice. He walked quietly in the direction of it, and saw Washington's horse tied to a sapling. In a thicket near by was the beloved Chief upon his knees in prayer, his cheeks suffused with tears. Mr. Potts was greatly moved by the tenderest compassion, and at once withdrew from the place unobserved. Greatly agitated he returned to his home, where meeting a member of his family he burst into tears. On her inquiring the cause, he informed her of what he had seen and heard, and added: "If there is any one on this

earth whom the Lord will listen to it is George Washington; and I feel a presentiment that under such a commander there can be no doubt of our eventually establishing our independence, and that God in his Providence had willed it so."

The writer of this article has for many years been a frequent visitor to many of the retired and commodious farm houses which mark the thrift and enterprise of the hospitable people of the great Chester and Schuylkill Valley. And the favorite engraving among the senior class referred to, appears to be the artist's sketch of "Washington in Prayer at Valley Forge," a small steel engraving, evidently designed from the short, but well meaning description rendered of the event by Mr. Potts.

The settlement around these hills and in the valleys commanded by them is largely of Quaker families, of the William Penn school, eminently patriotic during the Revolution and in the late war, in their own way, but who studiously eschew all warlike pictures, and forbid them place on their immaculate walls; but these good people found in the truthful conception of the artist's quaint picture of Washington in Secret Prayer, a happy compromise of conscientious scruples which forbade them "gunning for" red coats, although devoutly hopeful of their speedy ruin by prayer. In other words, these people were in full sympathy with the Continental Congress, they only differed in the use of the means employed. Washington, however, in his letter to Congress, 1777, declared that the people of this locality were "to a man disaffected." This good man, smarting under the defeat at Brandywine, and the "perplexing manœuvres" of General Howe immediately thereafter in this vicinity, misconceived the religiously scrupulous Quakers of the Chester Valley, who were unwarlike, and unlike the great Virginian in temperment and conviction, but who as a class, when later and better understood, and utilized in accordance with their own convictions, contributed nobly to the cause of self government then and in the more recent struggle. Any other conclusion would be doing gross violence to the large denomination of "Friends" who settled in this Valley, and for whom the Commonwealth founded

by Penn has by her constitution and laws always manifested a well grounded solicitude.

The occupation of Valley Forge by Washington was a necessity. It resulted from his defeat at the Battle of Brandywine, September 11th, the drawn wager of battle at Warren's Tavern, September 16th, the affair at Paoli, September 20th, and the well-intended and cleverly executed, but unsuccessful, effort to surprise the British Army at Germantown, October 4th, 1777.

The field of Eastern Pennsylvania presented a tempting prize to the British commander in the autumn of that year. Philadelphia was then the seat of the Continental Government. Its occupation by the enemy, it was thought, would greatly dispirit the Colonists. The Delaware River suggested a secure fresh water anchorage for their navy during the coming winter, and the city a fine shelter for their land forces, while it was still believed by the mother government that the large and influential following of the Penn family was loyal to King George. These were among the principal considerations which induced Howe to organize a campaign against it, at the same time indulging in the hope that by reason of his superior army, in numbers, armament and dicipline, he would be able, if his adversary would hazard a battle, to destroy, if not capture, him and his troops. He was partially successful. He secured the city to winter his troops, and the Delaware on which to float his navy. The seat of government was moved to Lancaster, thence to York. The followers of Penn, led by the patriot Morris, were silent and unfriendly. Washington was still in the field with an army, although defeated, by no means dismayed, while the states from South Carolina to Massachussets were more determined than ever to prolong the contest.

The story of this campaign, as told by the historians who lived and wrote cotemporaneous with it, has always possessed a rare interest to Pennsylvanians, who participated in it, and their descendants, happily shared by their compatriots throughout the land. Other fields, in other states, before and afterwards, witnessed the brighter triumph of our arms, and the more immediate result of victories won, but nowhere on the long and varying line

of battle, were more sanguine engagements, fought in no campaign of the protracted struggle was the suffering of the troops so continuous and severe. At no time was the solicitude of the Comander-in-Chief so keenly exercised, or the patriotism of the people more sorely tried.

A rapid successsion of battles, all of which were fought within sight and cannon sound of the beloved city, the possession of which the Government, Washington and the people alike, felt must be maintaned, resulted disastrously, leaving no choice but to retreat to the hills, and hew from the forest that crowned them, a covering from the snows of winter then fast falling upon them.

Truly may it be said, that whatever portion of mankind at the time may have longed and prayed for a brighter era in the great province of human government, here their hopes must have centered. Cold and piercing as were the blasts of winter, beneath the leaden sky that arched these hills, trodden by a naked and bare-footed soldiery, there was still warmth and devotion enough to sustain them through the terrible trial.

As the traveler rambles in the vicinity and gazes on the remaining relics of the encampment, still discernable, in well marked lines of entrenchments, fortifications and the remains of the more substantially built huts, the well-preserved Potts' Mansion, occupied by Washington, and the stone tablet at Fat Land Ferry, on the Schuylkill River, planted to commemorate the bloody tracks of the heroic soldiers who marched shoeless through snow and ice; surely as these sights recall anew the period, and the men who made it famous, he can but bless and extol their example and pronounce them among the greatest and most unselfish benefactors of their age and race.

It was during Washington's preparation for the defence of Philadelphia in this memorable campaign that he first met and availed himself and country of the services of the young and chivalrous Lafayette, who at the age of twenty years offered his life and fortune as a volunteer, and who soon after gave unquestionable evidence of his zeal on the plains of Brandywine. If the heroic example of this youthful officer gave good cheer to the Command-

er-in-Chief in the opening of this campaign; he was scarcely less fortunate in receiving the personal services of Baron Stuben, at its close, whose peculiar power and faculty of imparting discipline, worked marvels in its way, among the men and subordinate officers who deeply felt the distressing events of the campaign when closed.

It was on these hills that Washington and the country first heard of the "Conway Cabal," the object of which was to displace the Commander-in-Chief, and retire him in dishonor. The plot or conspiracy as subsequently revealed brought to light and disgrace those who were most prominent in its consummation.

Amidst all of which the character of Washington, tried in the crucible of envy and slander, appeared all the brighter to his comrades in the field, and the patriots who, all over the land, looked to him as their most reliable, if not most brilliant leader to ultimate success.

Here too it was, surrounded by all the discouraging circumstances which grew out of the loss of Philadelphia, that Washington, the army and the people first received the good news tha our cause was to be practically championed by France. It is difficult for us who live in the strength and enjoyment of our Republic at this time, to look back through the long stretch of a century, and realize with what profound solicitude our fathers watched and waited for the coming of the French people to our rescue; without which, or foreign aid of some kind, it was believed by many of the most sanguine in the cause, we could not succeed. The announcement of the event caused the liveliest sensation conceivable in the camp and among the people. Something akin to it might be appreciable to the staunch unionist of our day, if he could drop back to the midsummer of 1864, a rather gloomy period in our recent history, and in imagination read the official announcement of the rebel government that England and France had acknowledged the Confederacy and that their combined fleets were hovering off Fortress Monroe, ready and determined to unite with General Lee in raising the siege of Richmond. The almost immeasurable joy which these tidings would have brought to every Southern heart at that time was real-

ized by our unyielding forefathers, driven as they were to the hills and mountains before superior numbers, when France practically declared with us, that this country should be free from England.

But before proceeding with the details of history which give such rare interest to the hills of Valley Forge, let us review the battles, marches, retreats, and surprises that immediately preceded their occupation.

In this effort we cannot hope to present new matter, or rival the characteristic and graceful pen of Marshall, Botta, Lossing, Headly, Hamilton, Pickering, and a host of others, who have so graphically sketched the leading events of the campaign, which closed December 11th, 1777. If we can but recall from the slumbers of a century, the common peril of our ancestry and our country, and thus continue the season of gratitude for their deathless valor; our purpose will be fully accomplished.

## CHAPTER II.

## BRANDYWINE.

The arrival of Sir William Howe in the Chesapeake Bay late in the month of August, 1777, with an army 18,000 strong, removed all doubt in the mind of Washington as to the designs of the enemy, and in his judgment, left but one proper course to pursue: to give battle to the enemy. He at once proceeded to concentrate all his forces. Orders were issued directing detachments to join the main army by forced marches, while the greatest activity prevailed in all the departments, in order to prepare the army for a vigorous campaign. In order to strengthen the regular or Continental army, and have in process of organization a reserve force, the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware and the northern part of Virginia were directed to report to the main army. As soon as the forces thus concentrated were in a condition to move, Washington commenced his march to meet Howe.

In order to encourage the patriots and overawe, if possible, the many disaffected residents of Philadelphia, who were fully apprised of the designs of the enemy, Washington concluded to march his

Brandywine
Sept.ª 11. 1777.
Scale 1½ Miles to the Mile.
Americans
Hessians, British & Anspachers.
5 Miles to Paoli
Westchester
Sconnetown
Jeffries Ferry
Birmingham now Brintons Ford
Strodes Mill
3d Brigade Reserve
Osburns
Osburns Hill
Wistars Ford now Shanks
Forest
Hessians & Anspachers Chasseurs
Darlington Corner
N
S
Jones Ford
New Castle Road
American Right under Gen.l Sullivan
Birmingham Meeting House
2d Position
2d Position
Parkerville
Street Road
Brintons Ford
Kennet Meeting House
Hessians & Anspachers
Queens Rangers
Hessians
Chadds Ford
Rockhill
Dragoons
G.S. HARRIS & SON Lith. Phila.

troops through the principal streets of the city as he moved South.

The day, August 24th, 1777, was a memorable one in the history of the Capital City as well as in the lives of the patriot soldiers, who received at every square the most marked consideration at the hands of the populace, who were loud in their demonstrations of joy, as division after division marched by them, under commanders who had then grown into popular favor, resulting from their distinguished services in the field.

On the other hand the displeasure of those who from a sense of duty still adhered to the mother country, was manifest in the frowning faces, and silent contempt with which they apparently treated the events of the day.

The movement continued southward, until the advance guard reached White Clay Creek, Delaware, when it halted, while the main body of the army took position on the left bank of Red Clay Creek ; the right wing resting on the town of Newport, on the *then great* road to Philadelphia, and the left wing extending to the town of Hockesen, in the direction of the Delaware river.

The enemy, who by this time had disembarked, were in position on the left bank of the Elk River, with the advanced guard as far north as Gray's Hill. General Maxwell of the patriot army with his corps of riflemen held the line on White Clay Creek with slight defensive earth works.

In advance of Maxwell there were employed *four Regiments of Cavalry* composed of nine hundred men, *including persons of every description.* These partisan soldiers, composed of independent organizations, occupied the country as far south as Iron Hill, and did good service in watching the movements of the enemy and reporting the same to the Commander-in-Chief.

The enemy, having completed his preparations to advance upon Philadelphia, commenced a flank movement upon the right of Washington, and succeeded in compelling him to fall back to the Brandywine River, which he crossed at Chadd's Ford, on the 10th of September, and went into position. Here he determined to give battle to the enemy if he attempted to advance upon him, be-

lieving as he did, that Philadelphia could only be saved by a victory.

The centre of Washington's army covered Chadd's Ford, his right wing extending in the direction of Birmingham Meeting House, north-west of the ford, and the left several miles south of the ford, was held by General Armstrong, who commanded the Pennsylvania militia.

The front, on the south or right bank of the river, was occupied by Maxwell's Riflemen, who had been delaying the advance of the enemy's cavalry.

The situation was critical; the stake for which the impending battle was to be fought, on the morrow, involved the fate of the Capital of the new Nation, and to an unusual degree, the hopes of the people, who had resolved to sever their political relations with Great Britian. On the other hand, Howe, with a finely appointed army, which outnumbered that of Washington, felt that victory was within his grasp—only a silver thread, which the morning sun would betray, and mark as the coming line of battle, lay between him and the coveted prize. At the dawn of day on the morning of the 11th, the British army was in motion.

Howe had formed his army into two grand divisions. The one designed to make a feint on the position of Washington at Chadds Ford, was commanded by *General Knyphausen*, the Hessian, the other, the flanking column was commanded by *Lord Cornwallis*. They moved up its right flank on south side of the Brandywine some fifteen miles, crossing at Jeffries' and other ferrries where the headwaters unite, and where the stream is narrow and easily forded.

While this movement was in progress, unknown to Washington, the advance of General Knyphausen fell in with the troops commanded by General Maxwell, on the south side of the river, and a skirmish ensued. Maxwell's force fell back, were promptly reinforced, and in turn drove the English back upon the original line. Knyphausen immediately brought up his reserves, and compelled Maxwell to retire to the north side of the river.

Batterics were immediately placed in position, and a furious cannonade opened upon the American line, while the disposition of

troops, now plainly visible, was of such a character as indicated an intention to force a passage of the river at the point covered by the centre of Washington's army.

The advance upon this part of the line was promptly met, with counter dispositions of troops by the Commander-in-Chief, and the enemy seemed to be foiled in every effort to cross the river at this point. Meanwhile Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the flanking column, by a well conceived and unobserved line of march, reached the forks of the Brandywine, crossing at Trimble's and Jeffries' Fords, without opposition, at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to strike the right flank of the American army.

This was a most *critical hour* on that memorable day. The fact that Cornwallis had reached a position on the flank of Washington's army was at the hour spoken of unknown to him. Various reports reached his ear: about noon he received a report that General Howe was in command of a large body of the enemy, who were moving on his right flank. Upon this information which he deemed reliable, he immediately conceived the idea of re-crossing the river with the main body of his army, overwhelm Knyphausen before Howe could reach him; very properly concluding that the advantage thus obtained would more than compensate for whatever loss he might sustain by leaving his right wing exposed to the assault of Howe and Cornwallis. Accordingly he ordered General Sullivan to pass the river at an upper ford and attack Knyphausen on his left, while he in person should cross lower down, and fall upon his right. They were both in the act of moving their troops when a second report arrived, representing *what had really taken place* as false, or in other words, that the enemy had not crossed the head waters of the Brandywine, and hence the army of Howe was not divided for the day, and therefore not in such a position as to invite the attack designed by the Commander-in-Chief.

Deceived by this false intelligence, Washington recalled General Greene, who crossed the river with the advance. Time now was of incalculable value, and the want of a reliable body of Cav-

alry was severely, and fatally felt. The confusion and conflict of reports received at headquarters, the inability to determine whether the demonstration of Knyphausen was the prelude to an attack in force of the entire army of Howe upon the centre of the line at Chadd's Ford, or a feint to cover a movement in great force upon the right of the position, rendered the situation painfully uncertain. Strange to say, yet it seems to be authoritatively stated that a citizen, in the person of '*Squire Cheyney*, was the first man to give Washington reliable information of the enemy's approach upon his right wing or flank. He was well mounted and incidentally had been within a short distance of the enemy, and with trouble made his escape and hastened with the utmost speed to communicate the fact, doubtless, unconscious of the terrible importance his message bore. Washington at first was unwilling to believe his statement, classing it with the exaggerated and stampeding reports that had been embarrassing him during the entire day's operations. He put the 'Squire to the test. He ordered him to dismount and draw a draft of the roads in the sand, and give a clear description of the movement of the troops he reported to have seen. This was promptly and skillfully done. Washington still appeared to doubt the statement, unwilling to believe that he had so fatally misconceived the operations of the army up to so late an hour in the day. Cheyney was a pure and devoted patriot, his whole soul was in the cause, conscious of the truth of his statement, although unaware of its great importance, comprehending the doubt still in the mind of Washington, he exclaimed "*take my life General if I deceive you.*" Washington was at length convinced, and a few moments afterwards found that the enemy were within sight of his extreme right wing.

As soon as the approach of Cornwallis upon the right flank became a certainty, General Sullivan, who was in command of that wing of the army, made every proper disposition of the troops at his disposal to resist it. The position of the troops was taken on the commanding ground above Birmingham Meeting House, the left extending toward the Brandywine, both flanks being covered by densely wooded country. His artillery was well posted;

the position had great advantages for defensive operations, and but for the fact that one brigade of this division was absent from the line, having been withdrawn some hours previous to join in the intended attack upon Knyphausen, and therefore could not reach the position which it left, in time to defend it; the results would certainly have been modified, if in no other particular than that of delaying his march until Washington could have made the necessary dispositions to meet it, or if unable to meet it then to have fallen back upon a new position.

The attack upon the outpost of General Sullivan was followed up with overpowering numbers, which quickly developed the length of his line. This done, the British commander hastened his formation, and attacked the patriot troops with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement became equally fierce on both sides, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. For some length of time, says Botta, the Americans defended themselves with great valor, and the carnage was terrible. But such was the emulation which invigorated the British and Hessians, that neither the advantges of the situation, the deadly effect of the artillery, the ceaseless fire of musketry, nor the unshaken courage of the line from one end to the other, could resist the onslaught.

The fury of the enemy was directed toward Sullivan's left flank, which, after a gallant resistance gave way. This success upon the part of Cornwallis, was quickly followed up; the troops were thrown into confusion, the line felt the shock, wavered a few moments and then gave way in rapid retreat. Sullivan's men fled into the woods in their rear, their pursuers following on the great road toward Dilworth. Upon the first fire of the artillery, Washington, having no longer any doubt of what was passing, had pushed forward the reserve to the aid of Sullivan; but this corps, on approaching the field of battle, under the immediate direction of General Greene, was met by the very men to whose succor they had been rapidly marching, in full retreat. A proper disposition was at once made to receive the fugitives, and, after their passage to the rear, Greene conducted the retreat in good order—checking the pursuit of the enemy by a continual fire of the artillery, which

covered his rear. Having at length reach a defile covered on both sides with woods, he again went into position, with the full determination to finally check the advancing foe. The troops of General Greene were composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians, and their conduct in defense of this postiion, is said to have been remarkable for its gallantry and heroism. Conspicuous among those on the line of battle, and in immediate command, were General Muhlenburg and Colonel Stephens.

General Knyphausen finding the Americans to be fully engaged on their right, and observing that troops opposed to him at Chadd's Ford were enfeebled by those withdrawn under Greene to the support of the right wing, began to make his dispositions for crossing the river in reality. The ford was defended by a line of entrenchment and one battery. The troops left in defence of this position (commanded by General Wayne) successfully resisted the crossing of the Hessian General, until the force of Cornwallis made their appearance on their right flank. This development convinced them of the hopelessness of their task, and they fled in disorder, abandoning their artillery, ammunition and stores to the enemy.

## The Retreat.

In their retreat they passed to the rear of General Greene, who with the unbroken troops under him, was still able to maintain the position he had selected, and was the last to quit the field of battle. Night finally came to the rescue of the vanquished, under cover of which the army retreated to Chester, and on the following day to Philadelphia. Hundreds of men who had become fugitives in the rapid retreat of the right wing, as well as of the extreme left wing, in retiring from the ford promptly rejoined the army again within twenty-four hours at Philadelphia. The loss of the Americans however, was heavy. It is reported that three hnndred were killed, six hundred wounded and nearly four hundred captured—they also lost eleven pieces of artillery. The loss of the enemy is reported to have been one hundred killed and four hundred wounded.

Howe remained on the field of battle during the night of the 11th, and for some days thereafter, extending his left wing in the direction of the White Horse Tavern on the Lancaster turnpike, some twenty miles west of Philadelphia. Why he did not immediately follow up the advantage gained at Brandywine seems to to have been a matter of surprise at that time. Carefully disposing of his wounded by sending them to Wilmington to be cared for in hospitals there established, he appeared to rest upon the results of his victory.

The final position taken by General Greene and so gallantly held by the brigades of Weeden and Muhlenburg, was indicated by the Commander-in-Chief during the forenoon of the day of battle, and it is more than probable that the fatal effect of their well directed resistance to Howe's advance, put this sagacious officer on the defensive for some days after the battle.

*Marshall* says the engagement was not considered as decisive by Congress, the General, or the army, and cites the fact, that the Government determined at once to offer battle for the capital city. So far from manifesting any intention to change the location of the capital, Congress passed vigorous resolutions for reinforcing the army and directed Washington to give the necessary orders for completing the defences of the Delaware.

To prevent a sudden and successful movement by Howe upon Philadelphia, the bridge over the Schuylkill was loosened from its moorings, and General Armstrong, who was in command of the Pennsylvania militia was directed to carefully guard the passes over the river. Meanwhile, the utmost activity prevailed in all the departments of the army, in order to again take the offensive. On the morning of the 15th, three days after the battle of Brandywine, Washington was again on the march to meet the enemy. On the evening of that day he reached *Warren's Tavern* on the Lancaster turnpike, with his advance some twenty miles from Philadelphia.

Intelligence was received early on the following morning, that General Howe was advancing to meet him, in two columns. Both armies prepared for the impending battle, with the utmost haste. The advance of both armies met on the 16th, and the engagement

had actually begun, when a violent storm set in—the rain pouring down in torrents—miring the ground, swelling small streams to an extent that rendered the use of mounted troops impracticable, the roads became impassable, and the artillery and trains were moved with the utmost difficulty; and to complete the embarassment and peril of the General in command, it was discovered that the ammunition was so fatally damaged by the unprecedented fall of rain as to unfit it for use.

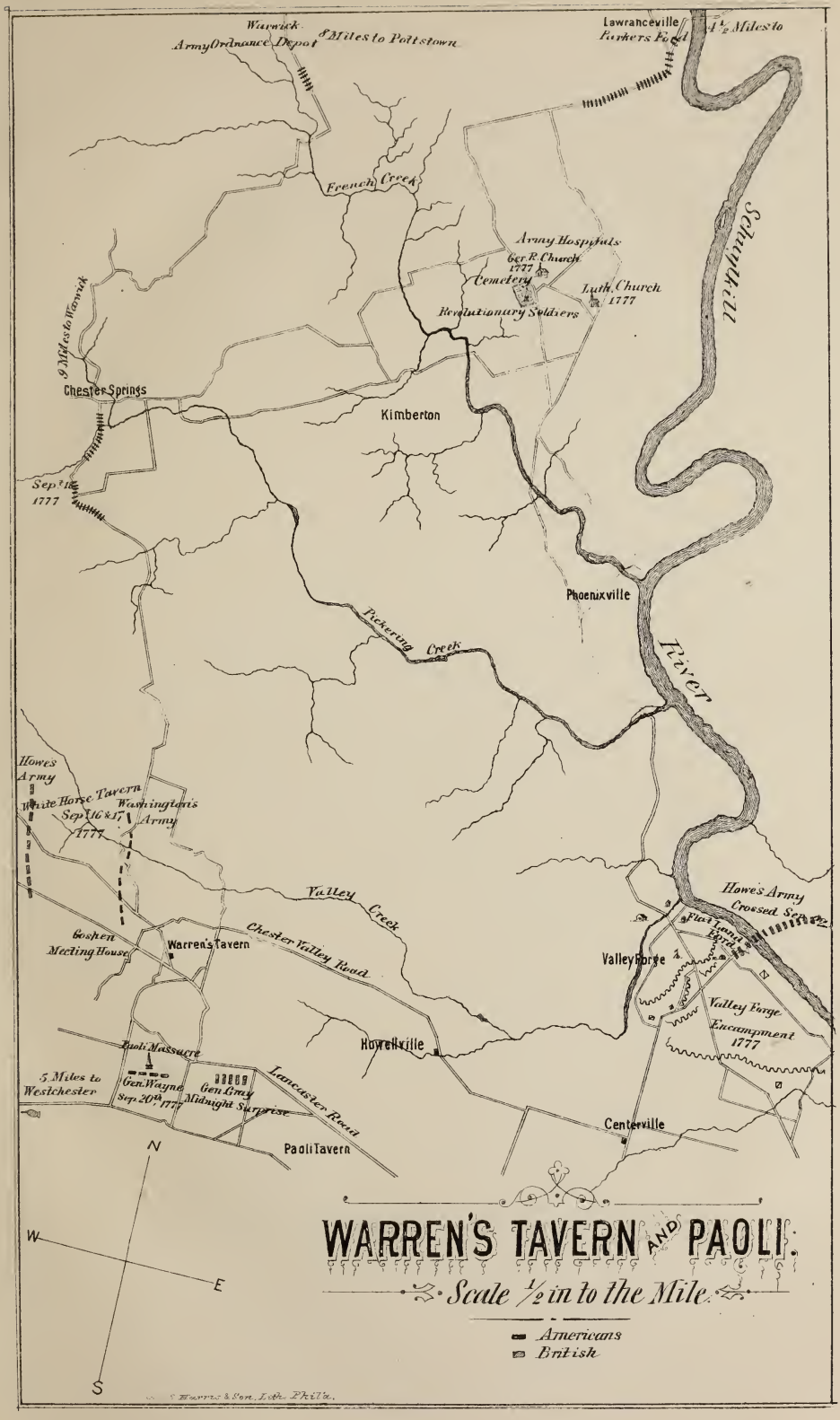
The army being thus rendered unfit for action, the design of giving battle to the enemy at the point selected, was reluctantly abandoned, and a retreat at once commenced. The march continued all day and a great part of the night, through a drenching rain, biting winds and deep roads. Having passed the left flank of Howe, the troops halted on the morning of the 17th, at *Yellow Springs*, where an inspection of the army and ammunition disclosed the alarming fact, that scarcely a musket in a regiment could be discharged, and hardly a cartridge box in the whole army was fit for use in rainy weather.

This condition of things suggested the precaution of moving to a still greater distance in order to refit their arms, obtain a fresh supply of ammunition, and thus reassure confidence in the rank and file of the army.

The General therefore retired to Warwick Furnace on the south branch of *French Creek*, where ammunition and a few muskets could be obtained in time to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill, and make, if possible, one more effort to save Philadelphia.

The extreme severity of the weather halted Howe in his march, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could concentrate his army—then covering the country from the Lancaster turnpike to the Brandywine.

From French Creek, *General Wayne* was detached with orders to proceed to the rear of Howe's army, and by carefully concealing his approach, to seize every occasion which his march and proximity to the enemy's lines might offer to effectively engage and harass them. It was this movement that led to the fatal event known in history as the "*Massacre of Paoli.*". The movement


Warwick
Army Ordnance Depot
9 Miles to Pottstown
Lawranceville
Parkers Ford
4½ Miles to
Schuylkill
French Creek
Army Hospitals
Ger. R. Church
1777
Cemetery
Luth. Church
1777
Revolutionary Soldiers
9 Miles to Warwick
Chester Springs
Kimberton
Sept. 11th
1777
Phoenixville
Pickering Creek
River
Howes
Army
White Horse Tavern
Washington's
Army
Sept. 16 & 17
1777
Valley Creek
Howes Army
Crossed Sept. 22
Flat Iron
Fort
Gosben
Meeting House
Warren's Tavern
Chester Valley Road
Valley Forge
Valley Forge
Encampment
1777
Paoli Massacre
Howellville
5 Miles to
Westchester
Gen. Wayne
Sep. 20th
1777
Gen. Gray
Midnight Surprise
Lancaster Road
Centerville
Paoli Tavern
N
W
E
S
WARREN'S TAVERN AND PAOLI.
Scale ½ in to the Mile.
Americans
British
S. Warren & Son, Lith. Phila.

was evidently intended as a diversion, in order to secure further time for the meditated attack upon the British army. In this view it was a lamentable failure, without compensatory results. This affair took place on the night of the 22nd of September, 1777. General Wayne had encamped in a very retired postion, near the spot now marked by the monument, and at some distance from the public roads. General Howe was promptly advised by one or more of the disaffected citizens of the neighborhood, of the the precise locality of Wayne's encampment, and of the nature of the approaches leading to it. He at once detached General Gray with a division of troops to surprise and cut him off. Guided by his tory aids, General Gray, under cover of the night, massed his troops as near the camp of Wayne as possible, without betraying a knowledge of his approach; from there he cautiously moved through the woods, and up the narrow defile below Paoli, where he met the outer picket. This was the signal for a deadly charge upon the American corps. Although well conceived and cleverly executed, the surprise was not complete. "The assailants were received with several close and destructive volleys which must have done great execution, but it soon became evident that the Americans were greatly outnumbered, and were obliged to retreat in haste and great disorder. The loss of the Americans in this affair, in killed and wounded, was one hundred and fifty."

This attack is characterized by American historians as brutal and merciless. "Many victims were massacred after resistance on their part had ceased, the cry for quarter was unheeded, and the British bayonet did its work with unpitying ferocity."

General Wayne was severely criticised by the public, for what was at first thought carelessness on his part, in not anticipating the movement of the enemy; but he promptly demanded an investigation of his conduct by a court martial, the unanimous finding of which was that "he did everything that could be expected from an active, brave and vigilant officer, under the orders which he then had." Washington having uncovered Philadelphia by retiring to French Creek, and the effort of General Wayne to delay the movements of Howe, having failed, the British Commander imme-

diately crossed the Schuylkill river at Fatland Ford, near Valley Forge. This movement led Washington to believe that the enemy intended moving on Reading, at which place large supplies were in store. He therefore crossed to the east side of the same river at Parker's Ford, some ten miles above the points crossed by Howe, and took position on the rolling ground, in Pottsgrove township.

The movement of Howe was evidently a feint, designed to draw Washington further from the city of Philadelphia, and leave him an undisputed passage to the principal objective point of the campaign. On the 22nd of September the British army moved southward on the east shore of the Schuylkill over the Ridge Road reaching the city on the 26th of the same month. Simultaneously, Washington moved southward and went into position on the *Skippack Creek*, about twenty miles northwest from Philadelphia, where he was joined by the troops that had been detached under General Wayne and by the Continental troops that had been ordered from Peekskill, and also by the Jersey militia, under the command of General Dickinson. By the close of the month of September, according to the best authority, upon the condition and number of Washington's army, he had 18,000 effective troops.

## CHAPTER III.

## GERMANTOWN.

General Howe, upon taking possession of Philadelphia, stationed a detachment of his army on the Jersey shore of the Delaware river south of the city, to protect the British fleet; a portion were quartered in the heart of the city, while the larger portion were placed in position at Germantown.

This divided condition of Howe's army was communicated to Washington through the friendly emissaries that moved in and out of the city and held confidential relations with the Commander-in-Chief, who having been prevented by the violent storm from attacking the enemy on the Lancaster road on the 16th, now conceived the idea of uniting surprise with attack, and if possible, recover the city that had been lost.

The British line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the centre of the village. The left wing extended westwardly to the river Schuylkill and was covered by the German, mounted and dismounted troops. The centre was posted within the town and was covered by the Fourth Regiment and a battalion of light infantry, under command of Colonel Musgrave. The right of the line extended to the Delaware river, and was held by a battalion of infantry and a body of mounted troops knows as the Queen's Rangers, numbering some three hundred American tories, commanded by British officers.

The time and plan of the attack having been arranged, Washington so disposed his troops, that the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to march down the Main road and enter the town by way of Chesnut Hill, to attack the enemy's centre, and the right flank of their left wing. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by MacDougal's brigade moving to the left until reaching the Lime Kiln road, were designed to reach the town at the market house, and attack the left flank of the right wing. In order that the left wing of the enemy would be prevented from supporting the centre, General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia was ordered to march down the Ridge road, running nearly parallel with the Schuylkill river, attack the enemy, and, if possible, turn their left flank. In like manner, to prevent the extreme right flank from marching to the relief of the centre, the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Foreman, were to march down the old York road, and fall on their extreme right flank and rear. The division of Lord Sterling, and the brigades of Generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the reserve corps.

Evidently the intention of the American General was to possess himself of the village of Germantown by a double attack, and to thus effectually separate the right and left wings of the royal army, and give him early in the day, the advantages of the field, and with the reserves well up, reasonable hopes of a signal victory.

These dispositions being made, Washington broke camp on the Skippack Hills, and moved the several columns toward the enemy,

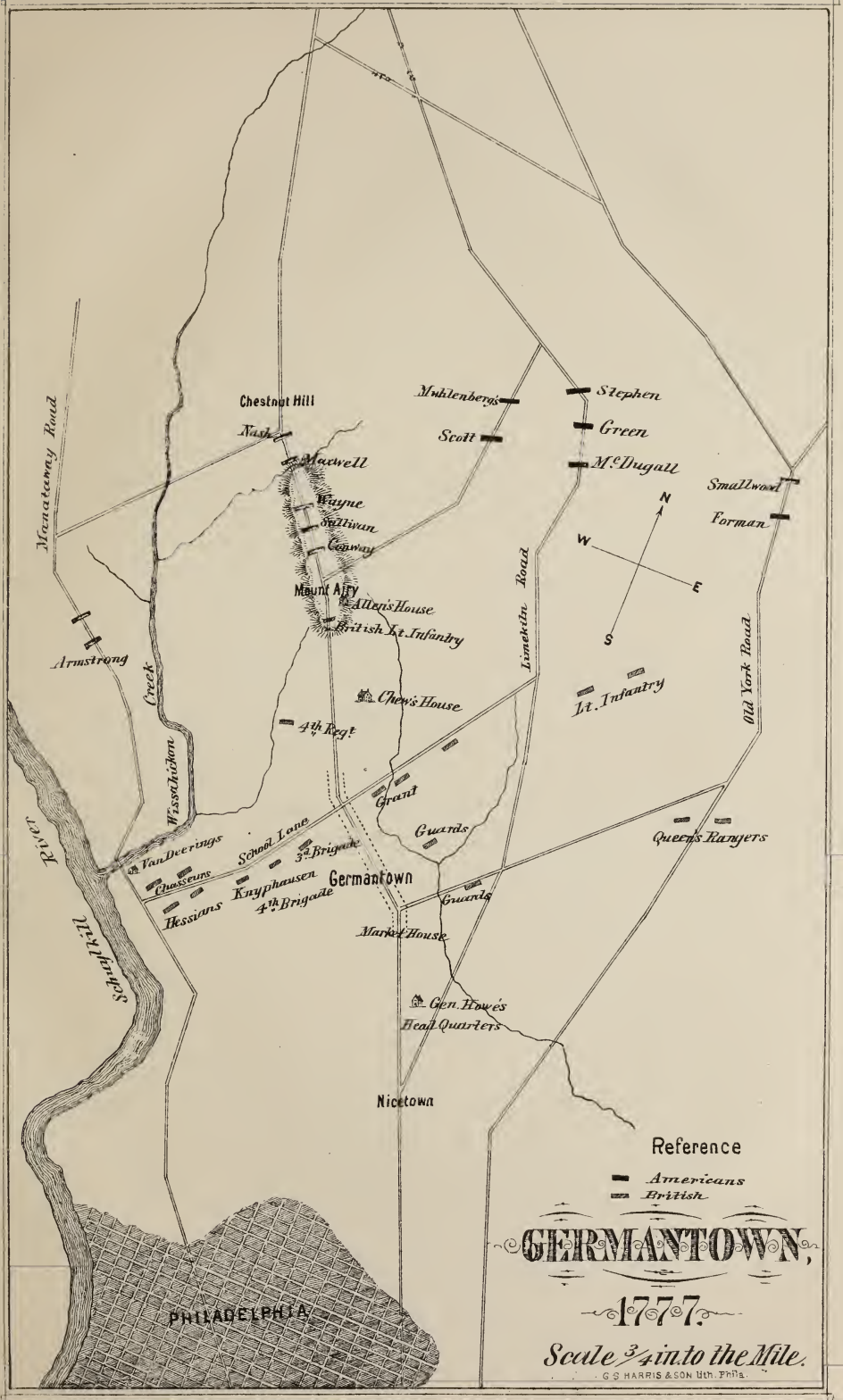
shortly after dark, on the evening of October 3rd. Detachments of cavalry preceded the different columns on the several roads, in order to arrest all persons who might by any possibility communicate to the enemy the movement of troops then in progress, or give notice of the threatened danger. Washington and his staff rode with the column of Sullivan and Wayne, which marched over what was then known as the Matatawny road, more recently known as the Germantown Turnpike road. The march is said to have been silent, and very rapid.

The British patrols discovered the approach of Washington's advance about 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 4th. The place where the patrols were first met, is believed to have been at the point where the Wissahickon creek crosses the road upon which Washington was moving. Between three and four hours later, at sunrise, General Conway, who was conducting the advance, had driven in the reserve pickets, and was forcing back the 40th regiment and the battalion of infantry under Colonel Musgrave. These troops were completely overpowered, and a portion of them pursued into the village.

At this critical moment, Colonel Musgrave, with six companies of the 40th regiment, took possession of "Chew's Mansion," a large stone house, situated on the outskirts of the village, and about one hundred yards from the main road, from which he poured into the American troops a galling fire of musketry. Efforts were made to storm this unexpected covert of the enemy; artillery was brought to bear upon it, but the royal troops were intrepid in their defense, and it was found impossible with the means at hand, to dislodge them.

During this time General Greene had reached the right wing, and, after a slight engagement, routed the light infantry and the Queen's Rangers. Turning to his right, he fell upon the left flank of the enemy's right wing, in the hope of reaching the village and joining in the attack upon the centre.

Meanwhile it was expected that the Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong on the right and the militia of Maryland and Jersey under General Smallwood and Foreman on the left, would


Chestnut Hill
Nash
Maxwell
Wayne
Sullivan
Conway
Mount Airy
Allen's House
British Lt. Infantry
Mühlenbergs
Scott
Stephen
Green
McDugall
Smallwood
Forman
N
W
E
S
Lt. Infantry
Manatawny Road
Armstrong
Wissahickon Creek
Limekiln Road
Old York Road
Chew's House
4th Regt
Grant
Guards
Queen's Rangers
School Lane
3d Brigade
Van Deerings
Chasseurs
Hessians
Knyphausen
4th Brigade
Germantown
Market House
Schuylkill River
Gen. Howe's Head Quarters
Nicetown
PHILADELPHIA
Reference
Americans
British
GERMANTOWN,
1777.
Scale 3/4 in. to the Mile.
G.S. HARRIS & SON 11th. Phila.

have executed the orders of the Commander-in-Chief by attacking the respective flanks of the British army, but either because the obstacles they encountered had retarded them, or that they wanted ardor, the former arrived in front of the German troops and did not attack them, and the latter appeared too late upon the field of battle.

The failure of these two flanking columns to timely co-operate with the double attack upon the centre, was doubtless the principal cause of the defeat that followed. As soon as General Gray, who was in command of the line at the time of the assault, discovered that his left flank was secure he marched with the entire reserve of the left wing to reinforce the centre, which, notwithstanding the unexpected resistance of Colonel Musgrave in Chew's house, was excessively pressed in Germantown, and at which point the Americans were gaining ground continually. The battle at this time and point was furious, the attack and defense being equally vigorous.

The issue appeared for some time doubtful, but the rapid concentration of the enemy upon the centre of the American line soon enabled the enemy to overwhelm the troops of Sullivan, Wayne, Greene and Stephens, which rendered the loss of the day certain and a retreat inevitable.

The following letter written by Lieutenant Colonel T. Pickering, who was serving as Adjutant General on the staff of General Washington, at the battle of Germantown, dated Salem, Massachusetts, August 23rd, 1826, will be read with interest in connection with the events of a day, which opened so auspiciously for American arms, and closed in gloom and disaster:

SIR:—Nearly forty-nine years have elapsed since the battle of Germantown; of course you may well suppose that many facts respecting it are beyond my power of recollection, while a few are indelibly impressed on my memory. General Washington, in his letter to Congress, of October 5th, the day after the battle, says that "the army marched about 7 o'clock on the evening of the 3rd, and that General Sullivan's advanced party attacked the enemy's picket at Mount Airy, or Mr. Allen's house, about sunrise,

the next morning, which presently gave way. His main body consisting of the right wing, following soon, engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket, which they forced from the ground. Leaving their baggage, they retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's house.

The term here applied to the advanced corps of the enemy, that "they were forced from the ground," shows that they were in arms, and resisted their assailants; and that the previous brush with the picket, a guard always posted in advance on purpose to give notice of the enemy's approach, roused "the light infantry and other troops," who had time enough to take their arms and form for action. They retreated of necessity, before the greatly superior force of the whole right wing of our army.

But the "leaving of their baggage," authorizes the inference that they had no knowledge of the march of the American army, until the firing in the engagement with the picket guard gave the alarm. If, then, these advance corps of the enemy were not in the strict sense of the word, *surprised*—that is, "caught napping," unprepared for action, much less could the main body, posted in the centre of Germantown, two miles further off, have been surprised. The distance gave them ample time to prepare for action, in any manner which the attack of their enemy should require.

You ask "at what distance from Chew's House the attack commenced?" At that time I was a stranger to that part of the country. From my subsequent acquaintance with it, during my residence in Pennsylvania, I should estimate the distance from Mt. Airy to Philadelphia, to be eight miles, Chew's House seven miles, and the centre of Germantown, six miles. And these I think are the distances as I have occasionally heard them mentioned.

You ask "how long a pause was made at Chew's House, and what space of time probably intervened between the beginning of the action and the general engagement at the head of the village?" The pause at Chew's House in the manner I shall presently mention, probably delayed the advance of the *rear division* of our army into action for half an hour. Taking the attack on the

picket at Mount Airy as the beginning of the action, it was probably nearly half an hour before it became general as to the whole of Sullivan's column, and this general engagement must have commenced after he had passed Chew's House, for I saw not one dead man until I had passed it, and then but one, lying in the road where I fell in with General Sullivan. I presume that following close upon the heels of the British battalion of light infantry and the 40th regiment, which were retiring before him, Sullivan, with his column, had passed Chew's House without annoyance from it, for it must have taken Colonel Musgrave, who entered it with six companies of the 40th regiment, some time to barricade and secure the doors and windows of the lower story, before he would be ready to fire from the chamber windows—and it was from them that the firing I saw proceeded.

In the march of the army, General Washington, following Sullivan's column, kept in the road leading to, and through Germantown, to Philadelphia. When he had entered the northern part of the village, we heard in advance of us, (I was riding by the General's side,) a very heavy fire of musketry. General Sullivan's divisions, it was evident, were warmly engaged with the enemy, but neither were in sight. This fire was brisk and heavy, and General Washington said to me, "I am afraid General Sullivan is throwing away his ammunition; ride forward and tell him to reserve it." I do not know what was the precise idea which at that moment struck the mind of the General. I can only conjecture that he was apprehensive that Sullivan, after meeting the enemy in the front, kept up his brisk and incessant fire, when the haziness of the air and its increased obscurity, from the burning of so much powder, prevented his troops having such a distinct view of the enemy as would render their fire efficient. Be that as it may, the instant I received the General's orders, I rode forward and in the road, three or four hundred yards beyond Chew's house, met Sullivan, and delivered to him the General's orders.

At this time I had never heard of Chew's house; and had no idea that an enemy was in my rear. The first notice I received of it was from the whizzing of the musket balls across the road, before,

behind and above me as I was returning, after delivering the orders to Sullivan. Instantly turning my eyes to the right, I saw the blaze of the muskets, whose shot were still aimed at me, from the windows of a large stone house, standing back about a hundred yards from the road. This was Chew's house. Passing on, I came to some of our artillery who were firing very obliquely on the front of the house. I remarked to them that in that position their fire would be unavailing, and that the only chance of their shot making any impression on the house, would be moving down and firing on its front. Then immediately passing on I rejoined Gen. Washington, who, with Gen. Knox and other officers, was in front of a stone house (nearly all the houses in Germantown were of stone), next northward of the open fields on which Chew's house stood. I found they were discussing. in Washington's presence, this question: Whether the whole of our troops then behind should immediately advance, regardless of the enemy in Chew's house, or first summon them to surrender? Gen. Knox strenuously urged the sending of a summons. Among other things, he said, "It would be unmilitary to leave a castle in the rear." I answered, "Doubtless that is a correct general maxim; but it does not apply in this case. We know the extent of this castle (Chew's house), and to guard against the danger of the enemy's sallying and falling on the rear of our troops, a small regiment may be posted here to watch them; and if they sally such a regiment will take them. But," I added, "to summon them to surrender will be useless. We are now in the midst of the battle, and its issues are unknown. In this state of uncertainty, and so well secured as the enemy find themselves, they will not regard a summons. *They will fire at your flag.*" However, a flag was sent with a summons. Lieut. Smith, of Virginia, my assistant in the office of Adjutant-General, volunteered his service to carry it. As he was advancing, a shot from the house gave him a wound of which he died. Whatever delay in the advance of the division in our rear was occasioned by the pause at Chew's house, I am satisfied that Sullivan's column did not halt there at all, as mentioned by Judge Johnson. The column was certainly not in sight when the General sent me with the orders already

noticed, and it is alike certain that it was then beyond Chew's house. Nor were the enemy forming under cover of the house, or I would have seen them. When the orders were sent to our troops in the rear to advance, I do not know; but it must have been subsequent to the sending of the flag, and, I should think, twenty minutes, at least, after it was found that an enemy was in the house. The General did not pass it at all. I had remained near him until our troops were retreating, when I rode off to the right to endeavor to stop and rally those I met retiring in companies and squads; but it was impracticable. Their ammunition, I suppose, had generally been expended.

In the foregoing letter from Gen. Washington to Congress, he says, "The attack from our left column, under Gen. Greene, began about three-quarters of an hour after that from our right." You ask the cause of this. The answer is obvious. The right column, under Gen. Sullivan, which Washington accompanied, marched on the direct road to Germantown; Greene, with his column, was obliged to make a circuit to the left to gain the road which led to his point of attack. The columns thus entirely separated, and at a distance from each other, no calculations of their commanders could have insured their arriving at the same time at their respective points of attack. Judge Johnson, in his life of Greene, has represented as "almost ludicrous" the "scene" exhibited by some writers of the discussion near Chew's house in the presence of Gen. Washington, in which it is hinted that opinions were "obtruded, and that even field officers may have expressed *their* opinions; but," he adds, "General Washington was listening to the counsels of his own mind and of his general officers." I know, however, that he did listen to the discussion, and Lee (Light Horse Harry) commanded a troop of horse on that day on duty near the General's person. This accounts for his determination to send the summons. "Knox," he says, "being always high in the General's confidence, his opinion prevailed." Further, I must remark, that the general officers whom the Judge supposes to have been present, and advising the Commander-in-Chief, were in their proper places with their divisions and brigades. Knox alone, of the general officers,

was present. Commanding in the artillery department, and the field pieces being distributed among the brigades of the army, he was always at liberty in time of action to attend the Commander-in-Chief

Some two or three years since, I wrote to Judge Johnson informing him of his mistakes in the matter noticed in this paragraph. Others of his details of this battle, which are inconsistent with the statements I have here given to you, must be incorrect. The truth is, that General Washington, not sanguine in his own opinion, and his diffidence being increased probably by a feeling sense of high responsibility as Commander-in-Chief, was ever disposed, when occasions occurred, to consult those officers who were near him, in whose discernment and fidelity he placed a confidence, and certainly his decisions were often influenced by their opinions. This is within my knowledge.

I am, &c.,

T. Pickering.

The retreat of Washington from Germantown was accomplished without the loss of material. He retired to Skippack Creek, placed his wounded and disabled soldiers in hospitals wherever he could establish them, generally using the churches and other public buildings, between the Perkiomen and Reading, for that purpose.

## CHAPTER IV.

## WHITEMARSH.

As soon as his forces had recovered from the shock of battle, and were in condition to move, still meditating aggressive measures for the recovery of Philadelphia, he moved his army to Whitemarsh, distant some twelve miles from that city, his headquarters being at the "Emlen Mansion," now owned and occupied by Charles Aiman. Lines of defense were here drawn, some of which are still discernible near the village of Fort Washington, on the North Pennsylvania Railroad.

General Howe, upon learning of Washington's approach, and anticipating another attack, became extremely active and watchful. He attempted to surprise the American commander, but failed in his effort, by reason of his plans having been discovered, and communicated to the Americans.* The campaign closed in Whitemarsh on the 11th of December, 1777. The Commander-in-Chief, after consultation with his principal officers, and due deliberation, having concluded to retire to Valley Forge for the winter. The main army crossed the Schuylkill River at Swede's Ford (now Norristown) on the 11th December. A bridge was improvised for the passage of the infantry, many of whom were barefooted, by arranging the army wagons one against the other across the stream. The river was passed, and the hills of Vally Forge were reached by the army, without the loss of men or serious molestation by the enemy.

## CHAPTER V.

# VALLEY FORGE.

*General Orders.*

HEADQUARTERS ON SCHUYLKILL,
December 17, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS:

The Commander-in-Chief, with the highest satisfaction, expresses his thanks to the officers and soldiers for the fortitude and patience

* When General Howe took formal possession of Philadelphia in the Autumn of 1777, he established his headquarters in Second street, fourth door below Spruce, in a house formerly occupied by General Cauwalloder. Directly opposite resided William and Lydia Darrach, members of the Society of Friends. A superior officer of the British army, believed to be the Adjutant-General (Major André), fixed upon one of their chambers, a back room, for private conference, and two officers frequently met there, with fire and candles, in close consultation. About the 2d of December the Adjutant-General told Lydia that they would be in the room at 7 o'clock and remain late, and that they wished the family to retire early to bed, adding that when they were going away they would call her to let them out, and extinguish their fire and candles. She accordingly sent all her family to bed; but as the officer had been so particular her curiosity was excited. SHE TOOK OFF HER SHOES, PUT HER EAR TO THE KEY HOLE OF THE CONCLAVE, and overheard an order read for all the British troops to march out late on the evening of the 4th and attack Gen. Washington, then encamped at Whitemarsh. On hearing this she returned to her chamber and laid down. Soon after, the officer knocked at her door, but she rose only at the third summons, having feigned herself asleep. Her mind was so agitated that she could neither eat nor sleep, supposing it in her power to save the lives of thousands of her fellow-countrymen, but not knowing how she was to convey the information to General Washington, not daring to confide it to her husband. The time, however, was short. She quickly determined to make her way as soon as possible to the American outposts, where she had a son who was an officer in the American army. She informed her family that as she was in want of flour she would

with which they have sustained the fatigues of the campaign.—Although in some instances we have, unfortunately, failed, yet upon the whole, Heaven has smiled upon our arms and crowned them with signal success; and we may, on the best grounds, conclude that by a spirited continuance in the measures necessary for our defense, we shall finally obtain the end of our warfare—Independence, Liberty and Peace. These are the blessings worth contending for at every hazard; but we hazard nothing—the power of America alone, duly exerted, would have nothing to dread from the force of Britain. Yet we stand not wholly upon our own ground; France yields us every aid, and there are reasons to believe the season is not far distant when she will take a more active part, by declaring war against the British crown. Every motive, therefore, irresistibly urges us, nay, commands us to a firm and manly perseverance in our opposition to our cruel oppressors—to slight difficulties—to endure hardships, and continue every danger. The General ardently wishes it were now in his power to conduct the troops into the best winter quarters; but where are they to to be found? Should we retire to the interior of the State, we should find it crowded with virtuous citizens, who, sacrificing their all, have left Philadelphia and fled hither for protection; to their distress humanity forbids us to add. This is not all. We should leave a vast extent of country to be despoiled and ravaged by the enemy, from which they would draw vast supplies, and where

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go to Frankfort for it. Her husband insisted she shou'd take her servant maid with her, but to his surprise she positively refused. She got access to Gen Howe and solicited what he readily granted—a pass through the British lines. Beyond the lines she was met by an American officer, Lieut.-Col. Craig, of the Light Horse, who knew her. To him she disclosed her secret, after having obtained from him a solemn promise never to betray her individually, as her life might be at stake with the British. He conducted her to a house near at hand, directed something for her to eat, and hastened to headquarters, where he immediately acquainted Gen. Washington with what he had heard. Washington made, of course, all preparations for baffling the meditated surprise. Lydia returned home with her flour, sat up alone to watch the movements of the British troops, and heard their footsteps; but when they returned in a few days after, did not dare to ask a question, though solicitous to learn the result. The next evening the Adjutant-General came in, and requested her to walk up to his room, as he wished to ask some questions. She followed him in terror, and when he locked the door and begged her, with an air of mystery, to be seated, she was sure that she was either suspected or betrayed. He inquired earnestly whether any of her family were up the last night when he and the other officer met. She told him they all retired at eight o'clock. He observed, "I know you were asleep for I knocked at your door three times before you heard me. I am entirely at a loss to imagine who gave General Washington information of our intended attack, unless the walls of the house could speak. When we arrived near Whitemarsh, we found all their cannon mounted, and the troops prepared to receive us; AND WE HAVE MARCHED BACK LIKE A PARCEL OF FOOLS."

many of our firm friends would be exposed to all the miseries of an insulting and wanton depredation. A train of evils might be enumerated, but these will suffice. These considerations make it indispensibly necessary for the army to take such a position as will enable it most effectually to prevent distress, and give the most extensive security; and in that position we must make ourselves the best shelter in our power. With alacrity and diligence, huts may be erected that will be warm and dry. In these the troops will be compact, and more secure against surprise than if divided, and at hand to protect the country. These cogent reasons have determined the General to take the post in the neighborhood of this camp, and influenced by them, he persuades himself that the officers and soldiers, with one heart and one mind, will resolve to surmount every difficulty with a fortitude and patience becoming their profession, and the sacred cause in which they are engaged."

On the 19th of December the army went into position at Valley Forge and proceed to lay out their encampment. Washington gave explicit instructions for constructing the huts. By general order the commanding officer of each regiment was directed to divide or classify the enlisted men into squads of twelve in number, and provide them with the necessary tools required in constructing their quarters. The following details will serve to show the minuteness of the orders: "The quarters must be fourteen by sixteen feet each; the sides, ends and roofs made with logs; the roof made tight with slabs, or some other way; the sides made tight with clay; a fire-place made of wood and secured with clay on the inside, eighteen inches thick; this fire-place to be on the rear of the huts; the door to be in the end next the street; the door to be made of split oak slabs, unless boards can be procured; the side walls to be six feet and a half high. The officers' huts are to form a line in the rear of the troops, one hut to be allowed each general officer; one to the staff of each brigade; one to the field officers of each regiment, and one to every twelve non-commissioned officers and soldiers." As an inducement to these weary and war-worn soldiers to rapidly complete the quarters that were to shelter them in their partial nakedness, Washington offered from his own

purse to the party or squad in each regiment who finished their quarters in the quickest and most workmanlike manner, the sum of twelve dollars. And an additional prize of one hundred dollars to the officer or soldier who should substitute a covering for the huts, cheaper and more quickly than made of boards. We are left without reliable data as to who were the successful competitors for these truly honorable prizes. Until their quarters were completed and occupied by the troops, the Commander-in-Chief occupied his marquee, without chimney or fire, other than that made of logs and built outside. While the main body of his troops were toiling and suffering from the pelting storms of winter shelterless, he felt he must share their hardships; when at last he saw them in good quarters, his lines of defense drawn, fortifications and lines of earthworks established and manned, his extreme outposts indicated, then it was that he made his own headquarters at the mansion of Isaac Potts, in the village at the Forge. It would certainly be of great interest to the visitor of these grounds during the Centennial year, if the troops could be indicated as they were at that time located, with precision. History and tradition alike disagree, or are wanting in all the details, and we are left in some measure to conjecture, but not entirely so.* "Near Washington's headquarters, on a gentle slope toward the river, were stationed his body guard, commanded by Major Chas. Gibbs, of Rhode Island. A little to the right of the Guard was the brigade of General McIntosh, and further up the hills were the brigades of Huntington, Conway and Maxwell. Between these and McIntosh's brigade was a redoubt, and slight intrenchments, and directly in front of them was a line of *abatis*. Nearer the Schuylkill, and on top of the hill, was the brigade of General Varnum, near a star redoubt. At a distance of about a mile, and forming a line from the Schuylkill to Valley Creek, was the main portion of the army, under Brigadiers Muhlenburg, Weedon, Patterson, Learned, Glover, Poor, Wayne, Scott and Woodward, with a line of intrenchments in front. The artificers of the army were on the west side of the valley creek.—Opposite the General's headquarters, and nearly opposite where

* See map of Valley Forge.

the cotton factory now stands, tradition fixes the location of the army bake house. About half a mile south of where Rogers' observatory (now in disuse) stands, was a redoubt with, lines of intrenchments, and in rear of these Knox's artillery corps was encamped." The outlines of these works are still discernible, and will be found on the left hand side of the common road leading from the village to Paoli, General Potter, with his brigade, was in position south of Swede's Ford on the Gulf road, and covered the crossing of the army at Swede's Ford on the 11th of December, from which position he retired, covering the rear, and again took a commanding position some three miles south-east of the Forge hills, and remained there until the encampment of the troops, and the lines of defence for their protection, were completed. He then retired within the lines. Cavalry outposts being established, with an extended line of videttes at great intervals, with frequent patrols, to Swede's and Matson's Fords, on the south side of the Schuylkill, and at the junction of the Egypt and Ridge roads, now Jeffersonville, on the north side of the river, with patrols as far south as Barren Hill. The old tavern at Jeffersonville was burned down by a party of British cavalry in the winter of 1778, having first driven in the reserve picket at that point, who retired on the Egypt road (direct to Valley Forge), to the Woodland adjoining, and mutely witnessed the wanton destruction of valuable property for no other reason than it gave protection to the men and horses in mid-winter who necessarily occupied the extreme outposts of the army.

When General Potter's brigade fell back within the fortified lines, it left General Muhlenburg in command of the key to the encampment. The vigilance of this officer qualified him in a most eminent manner for the duties which this position imposed upon him.

Something like order having been established in camp and its safety provided for in the disposition of the troops as above indicated, the Commander-in-Chief sought in every way, with the means at hand, to contribute to the comfort of his army. Blankets and wrappings of every character which the men had been provided

with during the campaign just closed, were much worn, while many had none at all. Many were the groups of these poor men that kept themselves warm night after night by huge fires, sleeping by turns and reliefs as regularly as their comrades took post for guard duty on the regular lines of defense surrounding the camp.

The hasty removal of the seat of Government to Lancaster, and again to York, had its disorganizing effect upon all the departments of Government, especially upon those of the Quartermaster and Commissary, and the limited provisions that were made to meet the wants of the troops, greatly increased by reason of the defeats and retreats experienced, were with difficulty placed within reach of Washington, and when obtained, entirely inadequate to supply the barest necessities of the men. As early as the 20th of December, 1777, the following order was issued: "By virtue of the power and direction especially given, I hereby enjoin and require all persons residing within seventy miles of my headquarters, to thresh one-half of their grain by the first day of March next ensuing, on pain, in case of failure, of having all that shall remain *in sheaves* after that period above mentioned, seized by the Commissaries and Quartermasters of the army, and paid for as *straw*.

"Given under my hand at headquarters, near Valley Forge, in Philadelphia county, this 20th day of December, 1777.

"Signed, "GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"ROBERT H. HARRISON, Secretary."

In the absence of blankets, the want of straw, as well as grain, was sorely felt by the army: farmers in the immediate vicinity had already suffered great loss of the article by the presence of both armies in their midst. If the patriot army were considerate of those known to be friendly to their cause, and merciless upon the "tory," the British, who closely followed them, laid a heavy hand upon the supplies of the "rebel," and, between the two, the farmers from the Brandywine to the Perkiomen found an involuntary market, which produced gold for the "tory" when he sold to the British, and to the fearless and outspoken "continental"

currency which was greatly depreciated at that time. It is therefore not to be marveled at that these farmers who had stowed away the grain that was alone relied upon to keep body and soul together for another year, were tardy in threshing it out; foraging parties will march past stacks of grain mile after mile, in hope of finding it in the bag or bin. This is the common experience of all men who have seen actual service, and the fact was well understood by the farmers of the locality and period in question. The Commander-in-Chief comprehended the situation, and the order above quoted went direct to the vital point; it suggested an alternative that brought flails to the front; barn doors were opened, the golden sheaves were brought in from well preserved stacks, in many instances by the soldiers themselves, while tradition says throughout the length and breadth of Washington's seventy miles could be heard from early morn till late at night the well kept time of two and three threshers on every barn floor.* Straw was soon in the market, soft as flails could make it, and contributed greatly to the comfort of the men at Valley Forge, and hundreds and thousands of others, sick and wounded, who filled every church or meeting house from Barren Hill to the "Swamp," and from "Birmingham" to Reading.

It was at this critical period that Baron Steuben united his destiny with the patriot army, of whom Mr. Headley gives the following personal while at Valley Forge: "A more sorry introduction to our army, for one who had served in Europe, could not well be conceived. He had found our cities in the possession of a powerful enemy, and when he came to look for the force that was to retake them, he saw only a few thousand famished, half-naked men, looking more like beggars than soldiers, cooped up in miserable log huts, dragging out a desolate winter amid the straw. As the doors of these hovels opened he beheld men destitute of clothing,

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*The necessity of this remarkable field order was extremely painful to the Commander-in-Chief. In a letter written to Congress a short time afterwards criticizing the inefficiency of the quartermaster's and commissary departments he says: "I regret the occasion which compelled us to the measure the other day (meaning the order quoted), and shall consider it among the greatest of our misfortunes to be under the necessity of practicing it again. I am now obliged to keep several parties from the army threshing grain, that our supplies may not fail us; but this will not do."—[Marshall's Washington, vol. 1, page 216.

wrapping themselves up in indifferent blankets, and muttering complaints against Congress, which could treat them with such injustice and inhumanity. He was astonished, and declared that no European army could be kept together under such sufferings. All discipline was gone, and the troops were no better than a ragged horde, with scarcely the energy to struggle for self-preservation. There was hardly any cavalry, but slender artillery, while the guns and accoutrements to a great extent were unfit for use. Our army had never before been in such a condition, and a more unpropitious time for Steuben to enter upon his work could not have been selected. Nothing daunted, however, and with all the sympathies of his noble nature roused in our behalf, he began, as soon as Spring opened, to instruct both officers and men. His ignorance of our language crippled him at first very much; while the awkwardness of our militia, who, gathered as they were from every quarter, scarcely knew the manual exercise, irritated him beyond measure. Still the soldiers loved him, for he was mindful of their sufferings, and often his manly form was seen stooping through the doors of their hovels to minister to their wants, and relieve their distresses. It was his practice to rise at three o'clock in the morning, dress his hair, smoke and take his cup of coffee, and at sunrise to be in the saddle. By that time, also, if it was pleasant day, he had the men marching to the field for their morning drill. First he would place them in a line, then passing along in front, he would carefully examine their guns and accoutrements, and inquire into the conduct of the subordinate officers. The fruit of this labor soon appeared in the improved condition of the men, and Washington was very much impressed with the value of his services. In his letter to Congress, dated 'Valley Forge, April 30, 1778,' he says, 'Baron Steuben's length of service in the first military school of Europe, and his former rank, pointed him out as a person peculiarly qualified to be at the head of the Inspector-General's department. This appeared to be the least exceptional way of introducing him into the army, and one that would give him the best opportunity of displaying his talents. I therefore proposed to him to take the position of Inspector-General on my

staff, which he agreed to do with the greatest cheerfulness, and the duties of which office he has performed with a zeal and intelligence equal to our wishes.' " Continues Mr. Headly, " This branch of the service now received the attention its vast importance deserved, and *discipline*, before irregular, or practiced only under particular leaders, was introduced into, and imposed as a duty upon every command, and in every department. All the arrangements to carry into effect the plans of the Commander-in-Chief, were planned and perfected by Steuben, and the vast machinery of the army began to move in harmony and order. He selected one company, which he drilled in person to the highest point of discipline and efficiency in the use of the arms then relied upon in the infantry arm of the service, subsequently using them as a model, or example, by which to instruct regiments and brigades." We regret that history does not furnish us with the letter, name, or some identification of the company thus selected, and the example of which was so effectual in promoting the efficiency of their comrades. Honorable mention is made time and again of this distinguished service as performed by Steuben, and chiefly for which he was by Congress, on the recommendation of Washington, appointed a Major-General on the 5th of May, 1778, while the army was still at Valley Forge. But alas! for the brave men who answered the morning roll call of Baron Steuben, who generously sunk their individuality and became automatons to exemplify the first great duty of the soldier, i. e., to OBEY. Truer fame was never won on tented field by more heroic men; though they be nameless on our history's page, no greater victory emblazoned the banners of the patriot army than that which the men of this company achieved in the discipline of themselves, and by their example, the discipline of the army at Valley Forge. None more richly merit and deserve the distinguished consideration of posterity, aided by the inspiration of art, in monumenting their fame, than this company, whose organization and members are alike nameless in the history of Washington at Valley Forge. Unknown though this company be, and nameless the roll of its members, honor and gratitude alike demand that they should share the credit bestowed upon their

zealous officer by the historian, who declares the result of this primary school of discipline 'was seen in the very next campaign, at the battle of Monmouth. Washington there rallied his men, when in full retreat, and brought them into action under the very blaze of the enemy's guns. They wheeled like veteran troops in their places, and then moved steadily on the foe.' "

ST. PATRICK'S DAY AT VALLEY FORGE.

On the morning of the 17th of March, 1778, some of the Pennsylvania German volunteers made a Paddy and set it up in a conspicuous place in camp, to the great indignation of the Irish. It soon attracted a crowd of the true sons of the Green Isle; some came with their arms, others with clubs, and all swearing vengeance against the New England troops encamped there, declaring them to be the studied authors of the insult. The affair soon assumed formidable proportions, and subordinate officers were unable to restore quiet and discipline. The difficulty was promptly reported to headquarters by the Officer of the Day on duty. Washington having hastily ascertained the entire innocence of the New England troops, and not wishing to disclose the mischievous and fun-loving Dutchmen of Pennsylvania, mounted and rode in among the angry and threatening crowd, and reasoned with them, but in vain. This plan having failed, he tried another, and suddenly seemed to share their feeling, and expressed his displeasure at the violent breach of discipline, and requested the guilty parties to be pointed out and he would direct them to be punished. This they were unable to do. "Well," said Washington, "I, too, am a lover of St. Patrick's day, and will settle the affair by making all the army keep the day." He therefore directed his commissary to issue the whisky ration to every man of the command, and the day was one of the merriest for the men at Valley Forge, and long remembered by men and officers as a pleasant episode in their monotonous camp life.

THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

Benjamin Franklin negotiated a treaty of alliance with the French Government on the 6th of February, 1778, by which that government duly acknowledged our Independence. Intelligence of the

event reached the camp on the 1st of May. This good news wa signalized by Washington on the 7th, by issuing the following general order: "It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the universe to defend the course of the United States, and finally raise up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our Liberty and Independence upon a lasting foundation, it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the Divine goodness, and celebrating the important event which we owe to His Divine interposition. The several brigades are to assemble for this purpose at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, when their chaplains will communicate the information contained in the postscript of the Pennsylvania *Gazette* of the 2d instant, and offer up a thanksgiving and deliver a discourse suitable to the event. - At half-past ten o'clock a cannon will be fired which is to be a signal for the men to be under arms. The Brigade Inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, and form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of the brigade that the battalions are formed. The commanders of brigades will then appoint the field officers to the battalions, after which each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms. At half-past eleven o'clock a second cannon will be fired as a signal for the march; upon which the several brigades will begin their march by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed by the nearest way to the left of their ground by the new position. This will be pointed out by the Brigade Inspectors. A third signal will then be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon; after which a running fire of the infantry will begin on the left of the second line and continue to the right. Upon a signal given, the whole army will huzza, 'Long Live the King of France!' The artillery then begins again and fires thirteen rounds; this will be succeeded by a second general discharge of musketry, in a running fire, and huzza, 'Long Live the Friendly European Powers!' The last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery will be given, followed by a general running fire and huzza, 'The American States!'" The Commander-in-Chief and staff were the guests of the Jersey

troops during the religious services of the day. After which the general officers of the command joined him at the Potts mansion, whereat was served one of those famous dinners for which Washington always manifested a fondness. To further signalize the event, and make it a day of general rejoicing, he issued the following order:

"The Commander-in-Chief, in season of general joy, takes occasion to proclaim pardon and release to all persons now in confinement, whether in the provost or in other places. This he is induced to do that the influence of prosperity may be as extensive as possible. Even those that merit punishment, rather than favor, should not be excluded the benefit of an event so interesting to mankind, as that which lately appeared to the affairs of America. He hopes the indulgence will not be abused, but excite gratitude, and produce a change of conduct and an allowance of every practice consistent with the duty they owe to their country."

## CHAPTER VI.

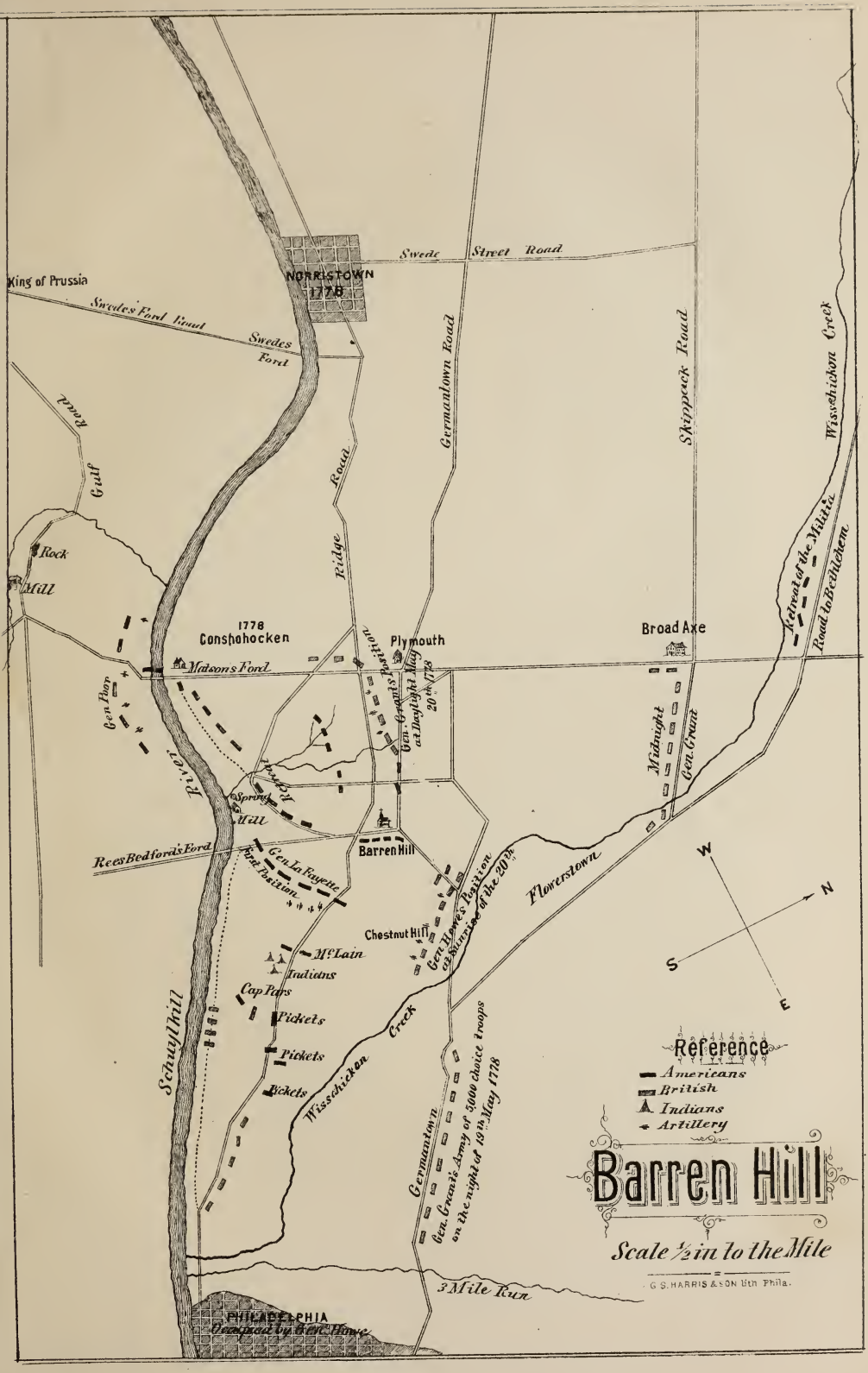
## LAFAYETTE AT BARREN HILL.

The long and bitter winter at length passed away, with its distress to troops and anxiety to Commander. France had declared war against Great Britain, and a French fleet approached our shores, with April showers and May suns at Valley Forge, gave renewed hopes and cheer to the Army, People and Government. The distinguishing event of the period—the coming of France to our rescue, naturally enough gave to the person and character of the young and chivalrous Lafayette, who had already won the confidence of Washington by his undoubted bravery and foresight, a prominence among the field and staff officers, who shared the perils and hardships of the disastrous campaign, which lost to us the capital and made the suffering at Valley Forge a necessity. The culminating events of the Spring of 1778 led Washington to foresee that the evacuation of Philadelphia by Sir William Howe was only a question of time. To anticipate the event, and take every possible advantage of it, was his most earnest desire. In order

therefore to accomplish this purpose, he issued an order directing Lafayette, with a detail of 2,500 selected troops, to pass to the east side of the Schuylkill River at Matson's Ford (Conshohocken), proceed to Barren Hill and take position; and from that point, with his most trusted and vigilant officers, watch the movements of the enemy, whose outposts extended as far north as Chestnut Hill. This order was issued on the 16th of May, 1778. The judgment and rare caution of the Commander-in-Chief was exhibited in the care with which this order was prepared. Every useless appendage that might possibly retard the rapid march of this select corps of troops was rigidly withheld from them, the necessary baggage and forage wagons were reduced to the lowest possible number, and these were placed under the care of the most trustworthy teamsters known in the Quartermaster's department. The lightest and most effective artillery then in use, with the best and fewest horses consistent with the character of the roads and country, with the youngest and most spirited officers, were detached to accompany the expedition. The infantry troops were selected from the most reliable regiments known in the army, and the details of cavalry were made with reference to the efficiency and daring of the captains commanding troops, as they would be required to act independently and upon extremely hazardous duty. To crown all, Washington's directions to Lafayette were under no circumstances to remain long in any one camp, lest his position should become known to the enemy, and lead to a surprise or night attack upon him by overwhelming numbers. That this extreme caution was wisely manifested is fully shown by the subsequent events connected with the movements of this body of troops. The youth of Lafayette, his high rank in the army, being a Major-General and only in his twenty-first year, the grave importance of the expedition, the results expected from it, all alike served to increase the interest which the young nobleman had already inspired in the minds of the patriots, both in and out of the army.

His career was indeed an extraordinary one, and as we view it, through the stretch of a century, it reads more like romauce than a stubborn fact of history. In his nineteenth year he had mar-

ried the Countess Anastasia, daughter of the Duke de Noailles, a lady of rare beauty, immense wealth and brilliant accomplishments. When the story of America's wrongs, and her struggle for the right, just begun, reached his ears, it stirred his young heart with the most passionate sympathy, and an ardent desire to aid them with his purse and sword. He openly espoused the cause of the patriots, and resolved to hasten to their support. Of him it has been said, not all the blandishments of rank and fortune, the endearments of conjugal love, made doubly so by the promise of offspring, nor the sad tales of reverses to the American arms at the close of 1776, which every vessel from our shores carried to Europe, could repress his zeal or deter him from the execution of his noble purpose. He had just offered his services to Silas Deane, one of the American Commissioners then in Paris, when the news arrived that the remnant of the American army, reduced to two thousand insurgents, as they were then called, had fled towards Philadelphia through the Jerseys, before an army of thirty thousand British regulars. This news frustrated all the plans of Deane for a time; it utterly destroyed the little credit which America then had in Europe. Benjamin Franklin arrived in Paris at this critical period. He was greatly pleased with Lafayette, and the disinterested zeal which he exhibited for the cause, but honestly advised him to abandon his design until better hope for success should appear. But this candid advice was of no avail. "Hitherto," he replied, in the spirit of true heroism, "I have only *cherished* your cause; now I am going to *serve* it. The lower it is in the opinion of the people, the greater effect my departure will have, and since you (meaning the American Commissioners) cannot get a vessel, I shall purchase and fit out one to carry your dispatches to Congress, and me to America. Subsequent to this interview he went over to London and mingled freely with the leading political characters then prominent in England, and moved without reserve in the most select circles of Court society. He danced at the house of Lord George Germaine, the Minister for the affairs of America, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York, paid his personal respects to the King, and met at the opera


King of Prussia
Swedes Ford Road
Swedes Ford
NORRISTOWN 1778
Swede Street Road
Germantown Road
Skippack Road
Wissahickon Creek
Gulf Road
Ridge Road
Rock Hill
1778 Conshohocken
Plymouth
Broad Axe
Matson's Ford
Gen. Varnum's Position
Gen. Greene's Position at Daylight May 20th 1778
Retreat of the Militia
Road to Bethlehem
Gen. Parr
Gen. Lee's Position
Gen. Grant
Midnight
Spring Hill
Barren Hill
Rees Bedford's Ford
Gen. La Fayette
Fort Position
Gen. Howe's Position on the Morning of the 20th
Flowerstown
Chestnut Hill
McLain
Indians
Cap Pairs
Pickets
Schuylkill
Wissahickon Creek
Germantown
Gen. Grant's Army of 5000 choice troops on the night of 19th May 1778
3 Mile Run
PHILADELPHIA
Occupied by Gen. Howe
W
N
S
E
Reference
Americans
British
Indians
Artillery
Barren Hill
Scale ½ in to the Mile
G.S. HARRIS & SON 5th Phila.

General Clinton, whom he was afterwards to meet on the field of battle at Monmouth. While he concealed his intentions of going to America, he frankly avowed his sentiments of friendship for the cause of the patriots, uniformly defended them in club debates, openly rejoiced at their early successes and determination to prolong the contest. The freedom with which he spoke the conviction of his heart, obtained for him great favor among those in legislative authority, and who were hostile to the movement against the American colonies, among whom was Lord Shelburn, at whose table he was a welcome guest. He refused invitations to visit seaports, where vessels were fitting out against the colonists, being unwilling to do aught that might afterwards be tortured into an abuse of confidence. After being in England for some three weeks, he returned to France, but not to Paris. Information had already gone abroad that he was fitting out a vessel for himself in which to proceed to America. The government officials of France, then a neutral in the struggle, received this intelligence with symptoms of alarm, fearing diplomatic complications, for which, at that time, they were not in readiness. The young nobleman was severely remonstrated with by his conservative advisers, but to no avail. He sought the residence of Dr. Franklin, then at Passy, where he met the good Baron de Kalb, in whose house he concealed himself for several days, fearing arrest by his family or friends, and then proceeded to Bordeaux. Here he suffered a keen disappointment in not finding his vessel ready for sea, as he expected. Nothing daunted, and fearing his plans might be thwarted by delay, he hastened by all means in his power to complete every necessary preparation for the voyage. He sailed from Bordeaux near the close of February, 1777, and proceeded to Passage, a Spanish port, where he awaited the ship's papers. His friends had been vigilant, and at this place he was met by two officers of his Government, who presented an order from the King prohibiting his departure, and commanding him to return to Marseilles. Charges were presented against him by the Ministers for violating his oath of allegiance, in which his family joined charges for conduct calculated to bring ruin upon himself and them. His

young and spirited wife did not join in charges made by his family, but declared that she approved of his project and urged him to persevere. Lafayette obeyed the order of his sovereign and returned to Marseilles. When compelled to answer, he pleaded the justice of the cause in which the Americans were engaged; citing their Declaration of Independence as a people, and various precedents in international history in justification of the course pursued, and with great warmth petitioned and importuned his sovereign for leave to proceed. His entreaties were in vain, and he at once resolved to risk Life, Fortune, Honor, Family and the displeasure of his King. Relieved from the compulsory process of the High Court, to which he answered, he confidentially communicated with his companions in the enterprise, and secretly arranged for all to assemble at Passage, the port before named, where his vessel was waiting in readiness for him. Fearing a repetition of his former delay, with far more serious results, he immediately started upon the voyage, accompanied by Baron de Kalb and eleven other French, German and Polish officers, who were also seeking service in the American army. We are unable to give the exact time he sailed, but it is certain that he reached our shores at Georgetown, in South Carolina, on the 19th day of April, 1777,* after a stormy passage of seven weeks, where he and his associates were joyfully received and hospitably entertained by Major Huger, and who provided them with horses to proceed to Charleston harbor. From this point Lafayette and his companions proceeded to Philadelphia, then the capital of the United Colonies and headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief. After a tedious journey of two weeks, principally on horseback, through what was then

*Geo. Washington Green, a recent writer in the Atlantic Monthly, in an article entitled "General John DeKalb," fixes the day of departure on the 20th day of April, 1777, and the arrival on the shores of Carolina on the 15th day of June following. He says the ship's captain was out of his reckoning and did not know where he was. Lafayette and DeKalb, with one of their companions and seven sailors, took the boat and rowed towards shore to look for a pilot, The first persons they met were three negro oystermen, who could only tell that they belonged to a Major in the American army, and that the coast was infested with hostile cruisers. But they guided the strangers to their master's house, which they reached about ten in the evening, and were received with characteristic hospitality. This proved to be the house of Major Huger. Horses were furnished them by their host from whence they proceeded to Charleston harbor by land. Their vessel also safely arrived at that port, and after discharging her assorted cargo, which was of little value, she was ladened with rice for the French market, and foundered on going out of the harbor. Vessel and cargo were a total loss.

hundreds of miles of wilderness, he reached the city, and sought the presence of Mr. Lovell, who was then Chairman of the Committee of Congress on Foreign Affairs. To him he handed his letters of credit. The Chairman received them, and after having them in his care twenty-four hours, returned them to Lafayette with the remark, "that so many foreigners had offered themselves for employment that Congress was embarrassed with their applications, and he was sorry to inform him that there was very little hope of his success." Convinced that this result was owing "to an official blunder, or want of time to examine his papers," he immediately put himself in communication with the President of Congress, and asked permission to serve in the Continental army, upon two conditions; first, that he should receive no pay; and second, that he should act as a volunteer. Upon these terms he was at once accepted, and, although he was not twenty years of age, his wealth, fervent zeal, social eminence at home, and the sacrificing disposition for the cause of Independence as shown by his then recent history, all alike commended him to the special confidence of those in authority, and Congress, on the 31st day of July, 1777, appointed him a Major-General in the Continental army. The first meeting of this remarkable young Major-General with Washington has had a peculiar interest to those who have familiarized themselves with their subsequent history. They were first introduced to each other at a public dinner in Philadelphia, which was attended by a large number of Congressmen and other celebrities, then and there prominent in the departments of the Colonial Government. History leaves us much to imagine in referring to this important event which united these two men in an unbroken friendship, as confiding, chaste and unselfish as that which could exist between father and son. The comprehensive mind of Washington read in his own language the elements of character possessed by the young Frenchman. He saw in the heroic example of his rising manhood those traits of character which when utilized would make him an invaluable aid to his military family of the field. Hence it was that before they separated they were found in confidential conversation, which resulted in an

invitation by Washington for Lafayette to take a position on his personal staff. This invitation was promptly accepted, and in that capacity he served with distinction at the battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded; again at Germantown, and until the first day of December of the same year, when Congress resolved, "that General Washington be informed it is highly agreeable to Congress that the Marquis de Lafayette be appointed to the command of a division in the Continental army. Three days afterwards the order was issued at Whitemarsh, and the Marquis took command of the division previously commanded by General Adam Stephen, who had been dismissed from the army. With this command he retired with the army to Valley Forge, December 11th, 1777. We purposely pass over many matters of interest connected with his life at Valley Forge with his companions in arms, all of whose sufferings he willingly shared, and proceed to review his occupation of Barren Hill on the 18th of May, 1778.

Early in the month of May, 1778, intelligence reached Washington in his camp that the British were making preparations to evacuate Philadelphia. In order to cover this intended movement, scouting and foraging parties were almost daily scouring the country between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, as far west as the Skippack and Towamencin Creeks, and on the 7th of May they sent an expedition up the Delaware River to destroy all the local shipping between Philadelphia and Trenton. Between forty and fifty vessels were burned; a considerable quantity of army stores were destroyed, and many inhabitants were killed or wounded. To prevent these incursions, and at the same time to cut off all possible communication between the country and the enemy, to obtain positive information concerning the movements of the enemy, and to be ready to follow up Howe's retreat with the utmost promptness and force, Washington detached Lafayette with the force before mentioned to take position at Barren Hill. He crossed the Schuylkill River at Matson's Ford (Conshohocken) about noon on the 18th of May, and proceeded to the Ridge Road, thence to Barren Hill, and went into position about a fourth of a mile west of the church. The position was naturally a strong one, but at the same

time a critical one, owing to the concentration of prominent roads at that point, and its proximity to the main body of the enemy. His position, as shown by the accompanying map, was skillfully selected. His artillery was planted so as to command the main road to Philadelphia, supported by the right wing of his forces, while the main or Ridge Road was occupied for several miles in front by Captain McLane with a squadron of cavalry, to which command was attached a body of fifty Indians, who were used as scouts through the surrounding country, then densely wooded. His left was, as he supposed, covered by a body of six hundred Pennsylvania militia, who were posted "near Whitemarsh." Whether this body of troops were detailed from those commanded by Lafayette, and by him put in position, or whether they were acting under other orders, we are left to conjecture, but from the fact that they changed their position without his orders or knowledge would seem to indicate that they were an independent body of troops, upon whose presence he was led to rely, and only when his discomfiture was almost accomplished by his cunning and vigilant enemy, did he learn to his great surprise that the officer in command of these troops had retired without communicating with him, thus leaving his left flank exposed to imminent peril; this view is further corroborated by the fact as before stated that the officers and troops detailed were selected with great care, it is therefore improbable that militia constituted any part of it.

### THE COMMAND IN GREAT DANGER.

Immediate notice of his arrival was given Sir William Howe, who the same day reconnoitred the position and at once formed his plan to surprise and cut him off. Our best historians differ in relating who forwarded the information of Lafayette's arrival at Barren Hill, as also in the matter of the officer in command at Philadelphia. Lossing says Lafayette at first quartered in the house of a tory Quaker, who sent a messenger with the information to Sir Henry Clinton. Marshall, in his Life of Washington, quotes from General Wilkinson's memoirs, and says that this notice was given by a person formerly a lieutenant in Proctor's artillery regiment, who, disgusted at being discarded from the American

service, became a spy to Sir William Howe, and the better to fulfill his new engagements, kept up his acquaintance with his former comrades, and frequently the camp at Valley Forge. To avoid suspicion, which would be excited by his visiting Philadelphia, a rendezvous was established on Frankfort Creek, where he met a messenger from General Howe, to whom the information was immediately given. The distinguished author says *this statement is certainly correct.* From the account given by Lossing we would be led to believe that Sir Henry Clinton was in command at that time. But Marshall says that this was the last enterprise attempted by Sir William Howe previous to his resignation of the command in this country.*

In pursuance of the plan which Howe had formed to capture the "Stripling Frenchman," as Lafayette was called by many of the thoughtless enemy, General Grant was, on the night of the 19th directed to move with a column of five thousand of his choicest troops and gain the rear of Lafayette's position. In this movement General Grant was accompanied by Sir William Erskine. All night this flanking column marched, hastened in their steps as they neared their objective point without meeting so much as a picket to fire the alarm, or intimate to Lafayette their coming. The road over which these troops marched on the night in question, as indicated by history and tradition, was as follows: From Philadelphia direct to Flourtown, thence to the present village of the Broad Axe, thence to the Plymouth meeting house, where the main body of the troops halted just about daylight the following morning. The Ridge Road was occupied by the advance guard in force, at the junction of the road leading to Matson's Ford (now Conshohocken turnpike), with pickets thrown down the Ridge Road almost to the camp of the American forces. Such was the situation on the left just about the hour the presence of the enemy became known. While this movement was in progress on the left,

* Lossing is certainly in error, as it appears from his own works. See Field Book of the Revolution, vol. II., page 97, note 2, where he quotes in full the letter of Major Andre, dated Philadelphia, May 23, 1778, giving a graphic description of the MISCHIANZA, a magnificent fete given by the British field and staff officers in honor of the departure of General Howe from this country. It is therefore conclusive that Howe was in Philadelphia on the 19th and 20th of May, when the attempt was planned and executed to cut off Lafayette at Barren Hill.

General Grey, with a strong detachment, estimated at fifteen hundred men, advanced up the Ridge Road and took possession of the next ford south of Matson's on the River Schuylkill, while the main body of the enemy, under the direction of General Howe, had advanced to the summit of Chestnut Hill, on what was then known as the Manataun road. The distance from the advance of General Grant's forces to Matson's Ford, the only point at which Lafayette could possibly recross in safety, was a mile, at least, nearer the former than the latter, and being uninformed of any other road by which Lafayette could reach that point of crossing than the one he occupied, he halted and went into position in the certain belief that the game was as good as bagged.

Captain McClane,* a vigilant cavalry officer of great merit, who

* Extract of letters from the Adjutant-General and the Officer of the Day to Capt. McClane (sometimes spelled McLane by the same author John Marshall. See pages 247 and 250 Marshall's life of Washington, vol. 1).

"CAMP VALLEY FORGE, May 21, 1778.

"DEAR CAPTAIN,—I am happy you have conducted your brave little party with so much honour to yourself. The Marquis effected, owing to your vigilance, a glorious retreat, as well as a difficult one.

"Signed. "ALEX. SCAMMEL, Adj't-Gen'l."

"CAMP VALLEY FORGE, May 23, 1778

'DEAR CAPTAIN,—I am glad to hear you are still doing something to distinguish yourself in the eyes of your country. I have the pleasure to inform you that your conduct with the Marquis has been very pleasing to his Excellency and the whole army.

"I am your obedient servant,

"CHARLES SCOTT,
"Brig.-Gen'l and Officer of the Day."

We believe the Captain McClane mentioned in these letters by Marshall to be the same officer, designated by some writers as Col. Allen McLane. Lossing designates him as Col. Allen McLane, in his Field Book, vol. II., page 105, where he relates that on the night of the MISCHIANZA, while the enemy were enjoying the festivities of the fete, he reached the ABATIS in front of their works at 10 o'clock P. M., with one hundred and fifty men, in four divisions, supported by Clows' dragoons. They carried Camp Kettles, filled with combustibles, and at a given signal they fired the whole line of ABATIS. The British beat the long roll and the assailants were attacked and pursued by the reserve picket along the whole line. The officers at the fete managed with difficulty to keep the ladies in ignorance of the cause of the alarm created. McLane and men escaped without loss and returned to Valley Forge. The same author, in same vol., page 122, in his account of Lafayette at Barren Hill, speaks of the distinguished services of this officer as Capt. McLane. The following incident in the life of this dashing officer appears in Sherman Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, under the head of "Montgomery County," page 501: "Col. Allen McLane, who died at Wilmington, Del., in 1829, at the patriarchal age of 83, was distinguished for his personal courage and for his activity as a partisan officer. He was long attached to Major Lee's famous legion of horse. While the British occupied Philadelphia, McLane was constantly scouring the upper end of Bucks and Montgomery counties to cut off scouting parties of the enemy, and intercept their supplies of provisions. Having agreed for some purpose to rendezvous near Shoemakerstown, Col. McLane ordered his little band of troopers to follow at some distance, and commanded two of them to precede the main body, but also to keep in his rear, and if they discovered an enemy to ride up to his side and inform him of it without speaking loud. While leisurely approaching the place of rendezvous in this order, in the early gray of the morning, the two men directly in his rear, forgetting their orders, suddenly called out, "Colonel! the British!" faced about, and putting spurs to their horses, were soon out of sight. The Colonel, looking around, discovered that he was in the center of a powerful ambuscade, into which the enemy had silently allowed him to pass without his observing them. They lined both sides of the road, and had been stationed there to pick up any straggling party of the Amer-

had command, as before stated, of the Indians accompanying the expedition, and whose forces were actively employed down the Ridge Road, from whence danger was most reasonably apprehended, during the night of the 19th captured a pair of prowling British grenadiers at a place then known as Three Mile Run. From these men the Captain learned of the movement made by General Grant, and also of the detachment then rapidly marching to occupy the ford below Matson's, on the right of Lafayette. Immediately conjecturing the purpose of the enemy—and being familiar with the roads and the country—he sent Captain Parr, with a portion of the command, across the country to Wanderer's Hill to check the column advancing up the Schuylkill, and still another in the direc-

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icans that might chance to pass. Immediately on finding that they were discovered, a file of soldiers rose from the side of the road and fired at the Colonel, but without effect; and as he put spurs to his horse and mounted the roadside into the woods the other portion of the detachment fired. The Colonel miraculously escaped, but a shot striking his horse upon the flank, he dashed through the woods and in a few minutes reached a parallel road upon the opposite side of the forest. Being familiar with the country, he feared to turn to the left, as that course led to the city, and he might be intercepted by another ambuscade. Turning therefore to the right, his frightened horse carried him swiftly beyond the reach of those who fired upon him. All at once, however, on emerging from a piece of woods, he observed several British soldiers stationed near the roadside, and directly in sight ahead, a farm house, around which he observed a whole troop of the enemy's cavalry drawn up. He dashed by the troopers near him without being molested, they believing he was on his way to the main body to surrender. The farm house was situated at the intersection of two roads, presenting but few avenues by which he could escape. Nothing daunted by the formidable array before him, he galloped up to the cross roads, on reaching which he spurred his active horse, turned suddenly to the right, and was soon fairly out of reach of their pistols, though as he turned he heard them call loudly to surrender or die! A dozen were instantly in pursuit, but in a short time they all gave up the chase but two. Col. McLane's horse, scared by the first wound he had ever received, and being a blooded animal, kept ahead for several miles, while his two pursuers followed with unwavering eagerness. The pursuit at length waxed so hot that as the Colonel's horse stepped out of a small brook which crossed the road, his pursuers entered it upon the opposite margin. In ascending a little hill the horses of all three were so greatly exhausted that neither could be urged faster than a walk. Occasionally, as one of the troopers pursued a little faster than the other, the Colonel slackened his pace, anxious to be attacked by ONE of his two pursuers; but no sooner was his willingness discovered than the other fell back to his companion. They at length approached so near that a conversation passed between them, the troopers calling out: "Surrender, you d——d rebel, or we'll cut you to pieces!" Suddenly one of them rode up on the right side of the Colonel, and without drawing his sabre, laid hold of the Colonel's collar. The latter, to use his own words, "had pistols which he KNEW HE COULD DEPEND UPON." Drawing one from the holster he placed it to the heart of his antagonist, fired and tumbled him dead to the ground. Instantly the other came up on his left, with his sabre drawn, and seized the Colonel by the collar of his coat. A fierce and deadly struggle here ensued, in the course of which Col. McLane was desperately wounded in the back of his left hand by a sabre cut from his brave antagonist, severing the veins and tendons of that member. Seizing a favorable opportunity, he drew his other pistol, and with a steadiness of purpose, which appeared even in his recital of the incident, placed it directly between the eyes of his foe, pulled the trigger and scattered his brains on every side of the road. Fearing that others were in pursuit, he abandoned his horse in the highway, and apprehensive from his extreme weakness that he might die from loss of blood, he crawled into an adjacent millpond, entirely naked, and at length succeeded in stopping the profuse flow of blood occasioned by his wound. We have seen, says Day, a painting of this desperate encounter, very accurately representing the contest. It used to be common in our auction rooms, but of rate years has become scarce.

tion of Chestnut Hill, while he, in person, at lightning speed, hastened to the headquarters of his commander to apprise him of the danger now evidently surrounding him. He arrived at headquarters about daylight and gave the information he had received, with his conjecture. A few moments only elapsed when the firing of Parr on the Ridge Road could be distinctly heard, while the simultaneous arrival of a resident of Whitemarsh, who had escaped after the passage of Grant's column, confirmed the worst apprehensions of the officers in consultation, and convinced them that they were in a manner surrounded, with but one possible road of escape, and even this could be closed by the forces of General Grant before it could be reached by them, if that General knew the importance of so doing. A singular coincidence took place during this eventful night of the 19th of May, 1778. While Howe was busy in his preparations, made upon information received from a native spy, and which promised him such fruitful results, a quiet citizen, who had been apprised of the intended movement of British troops from their encampments, and believing some important movement was intended, but not knowing exactly its character, escaped through the lines on the south side of the river, hastened to the nearest house of a KNOWN patriot, mounted his fleetest horse and by sunset was dashing headlong up the old Gulf road, in the direction of Valley Forge. He reached Washington's headquarters before daybreak on the 20th, and communicated his intelligence. The long roll was at once beat. The whole camp was called to arms; the danger to Lafayette was considered imminent. "Alarm guns were fired to announce it to him, and the whole army was put in readiness to act as circumstances might require."

Lossing gives a graphic description of the hour. He says the situation of Lafayette was now critical. Owing to the disobedience of orders on the part of the militia, in leaving Whitemarsh, General Grant's approach was undiscovered, and the little band of Americans was nearly surrounded by a greatly superior force before they were aware of their danger. Early in the morning scarlet coats were seen through the trees in the distant forest. An officer sent by Lafayette to reconnoitre came back in haste with the informa-

tion that a large British force was on the road leading from Whitemarsh to Matson's Ford, a little more than a mile from his encampment. The Marquis, young as he was, at once comprehended the situation and the extent of his danger. A skillful manœuvre was instantly conceived. He changed his front without disorder, stationed a large party in the churchyard, around which was a stone wall, and drew up the remainder in such manner as to be protected by the stone houses and thick woods. Ascertaining that the main road to Swede's Ford was in the possession of the enemy, he resolved to retreat to Matson's Ford, although the distance from his position was greater than from that of Grant. The only road by which he could reach this point, unseen by the enemy, lay along the southern slope of the hills, and concealed by woods. In order to more effectually cover this movement of wagons, artillery and troops, he threw forward small detachments through the woods, with orders to show themselves at different points in the enemy's front, as heads of columns, and thus deceive them into the belief that he was marching with considerable force to an attack. This device was successful, and while General Grant was preparing his forces to resist what he supposed to be an attack upon his flank, the main body of the force made a forced march to Matson's Ford, Brigadier-General Poor leading the advance guard and Lafayette bringing up the rear, carefully retiring all the detachments with which he had so successfully deceived those who, a few hours before, were confident of his discomfiture.

He was closely pursued to the river by the advance parties of the enemy. Personally directing the details of the retreat, he placed small parties in advantageous positions, where he could hold many times his number at bay, meantime urging his forces on to the ford, where General Poor had taken a strong position and placed his artillery so as to cover the rear guard in yielding the eastern shore to the now infuriated enemy. In the final skirmish near the river, he lost nine men in killed, wounded and captured. His success in putting the river between himself and the powerful enemy, who had so promptly and adroitly laid their plans for his

capture or destruction, still further increased the confidence which the Commander-in-Chief had reposed in him.

We have already intimated that Washington had been apprised of the movement against Lafayette at Barren Hill, in his camp at Valley Forge, and at once put his army in readiness to move at his command. It is related by John Marshall, who was at that time a lieutenant in his father's (Col. Marshall) regiment, and in camp at Valley forge, that he "saw the Commander-in-Chief, on the morning of the 20th, a little after sunrise, accompanied by his aides and a number of his field officers, ride to the top of the hill on the summit of which the huts were constructed, and look anxiously toward the scene of action through a field glass. He witnessed, too, the joy with which they returned after the entire detachment had crossed the Schuylkill." Mr. Marshall closes his account of Lafayette at Barren Hill in the following language: "It might be supposed that this young nobleman had not displayed the same degree of military talent in guarding against the approach of danger as in extricating himself from it. But the imputation which generally attaches to an officer who permits an enemy to pass unobserved into his rear is removed by a circumstance stated by Lafayette The Pennsylvania Militia were posted on his left flank with orders to guard the roads about Whitemarsh. Without his knowledge they changed their position, leaving that important pass open to the enemy."

## CHAPTER VII.

## EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

The first practical result of the French alliance was felt in the preparations by Sir Henry Clinton, who succeeded General Howe, to evacuate Philadelphia. Of the contemplated movement Washington was promptly advised by friends residing within the British lines. On the 18th of June, 1778, Washington wrote to Congress informing that body of the evacuation.

He says:—"I have the pleasure to inform Congress that I was this morning advised by Mr. Roberts that the enemy evacuated

the city early this morning. He was down at the middle ferry, on this side, when he received the intelligence from a number of citizens who were on the opposite shore. They told him that about three thousand troops had embarked on board of transports. The destruction of the bridge prevented him from crossing. I expect every moment official accounts on the subject. I have put six brigades in motion, and the rest of the army is preparing to follow with all dispatch. We shall proceed towards Jersey and govern ourselves according to circumstances. As yet I am not fully aware of the enemy's destination, nor are there wanting a variety of opinions as to the route they will pursue, whether it will be by land or sea, admitting it to be New York. Some think it probable in such case that the part of their army which crossed the Delaware will march down the Jersey shore some distance and then embark. There is other intelligence corroborating Mr. Roberts', but none official is yet come."*

As above stated, Major-General Charles Lee, with the advance of the army, consisting of six brigades, had reached the Delaware on the 20th of June, and crossed that river at Correll's Ferry. Washington, with the main body of the army, had broken camp at Valley Forge, and on the evening of the same day encamped at Doylestown, and remained there over night. The march from the Schuylkill to the Delaware is related to have been a very severe one, resulting from the unusual volume of rain that had fallen at that time. By the 22d the entire army had crossed the Delaware, and the 28th was signalized by the Battle of Monmouth.

The continental army occupied Valley Forge just six months. Washington reached there, established his headquarters and issued his order closing the campaign on the 17th of December 1777, and his advance under General Lee moved from there on the 18th of June 1778.

### HIS LAST VISIT TO THE HILLS.

William J. Buck, member of the Historical Society of Pennsyl-

* The following note from Marshall's Washington, Vol. 1, page 250, illustrates the watchfulness of the Commander-in Chief, and the vigilance of his cavalry in detecting the movements of General Clinton: "As the British army moved down Second street, Captain McLane, with a few light horse and one hundred infantry, entered the city and cut off and captured one captain, one provost-marshal, one guide to the army and thirty privates, without losing a man."

vania, in his history of Montgomery County, says: "In the latter part of the summer of 1796, and after his second term as President had nearly expired, and was therefore to retire to the shades of retired life, Washington concluded to see Valley Forge once more, the scene of so many toils and struggles. For the information respecting this visit I am, continues Mr. Buck, indebted to my friend, Henry Woodman, who learned it from the lips of his father who at the time was plowing on his farm in the vicinity of the encampment. It was in the afternoon that he observed an elderly man, of dignified appearance, on horseback, dressed in a plain suit of black, accompanied by a colored servant, ride to a place in the road nearly opposite, when he alighted from his horse, came into the field and cordially took him by the hand. He told him he had called to make some inquiry concerning the owners and occupants of the different places about there, and also in regard to the system of farming practiced in that part of the country, the kinds of grain and vegetables raised, the time of sowing and planting, the best method of tilling the ground, and numerous other questions relating to agriculture. He also made inquiries after certain families, in the neighborhood. As answers were given him he noted them down in a book. Mr. Woodman informed him that he could not give as correct answers as he wished, for he had not been brought up to farming, and besides he had only moved into the vicinity since the war, though he had been in the army while it was in camp there. This gave a new turn to the conversation. The stranger informed him that he had also been in the army and at the camp, and that he expected to leave the city in a few months with the prospect of never returning; that he had taken this journey to the scene of so much suffering and distress, and see how far the inhabitants had recovered from the effects. On being informed that his name was George Washington, he told him that his appearance was so altered that he did not recognize him, or else he would have paid more respect to his late commander, and now the Chief Magistrate of the nation. He replied, to see the people happy, and the desolate fields recovering from the disasters they had experienced, and to meet with any of his old companions now peacably engaged

in the most useful of all employments, afforded him more satisfaction than all the homage that could be paid to his person or station. He then said that pressing engagements rendered it necessary for him to be in the city that night, and taking him by the hand bade him an affectionate farewell.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SCHUYLKILL VALLEY, 1876.

Here we close in brief, our chronicle of Washington at Valley Forge, a hundred years ago. How marvellous the change, the transformation that now greets the eye and marks the progress of the century, the accomplishments of which we are about to celebrate in peace, security and plenty.

A hundred years ago, this broad field, commencing at Trenton, on the east, from Delaware to the Brandywine on the south, seemed to the naked eye, an endless forest. Common country roads, running parallel with these rivers, at great intervals, and converging at Philadelphia, intersected by plantation lanes and by-ways, constituted the only avenues by which the comparatively few settlers who located on the "Penn Grants," north-wast of the Quaker City, could reach tide water, and barter their rude products for the necessities of life. The wild and lovely valleys of the Perkiomen, the Schuylkill, and the great Chester or Brandywine, supplemented by "clearings" on the rolling hills that border them, was about all the arable land under cultivation at that time, These parallel highways were the Bethlehem, Lime Kiln, Skippack, Germantown, Ridge, Gulf and Lancaster roads, all of which were made memorable by the marching and countermarching of the Continental armies, in the campaign that closed by the cantonment of the patriot army at Valley Forge. If the visitor of '76 be fortunate in the selection of a point for observation, he will now see, at almost any hour of the day, the racing trains upon three great converging railroads, viz ; the North Pennsylvania, the Reading, and the Pennsylvania Central, intersected, within sight and sound, by the Chester Valley, Pickering, Perkiomen, Stony Creek and Plymouth branches. As far as the eye can reach, until vision is lost in the

1876.

# COUNTY OFFICERS.

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|---|---|
| Prothonotary . . . | PHILIP QUILLMAN. |
| Clerk of the Courts, | FRANKLIN T. BEERER. |
| Recorder of Deeds . | JOHN W. SCHALL. |
| Register of Wills . | SOLOMON SNYDER. |
| Sheriff . . . . . | JOHN LINDERMAN. |
| Coroner . . . . . | ISAAC FRY. |
| District Attorney . | JACOB V. GOTWALTS. |
| Commissioners . . | CHARLES M. SOLADAY.<br>GEORGE ERB.<br>AMOS D. MOSER. |
| County Treasurer . | SAMUEL F. JARRETT. |
| Directors of Poor . | MARTIN RUTH.<br>WILLIAM R. DETTRE.<br>HENRY D. WILE. |

1876.

COURT HOUSE, NORRISTOWN, MONTGOMERY CO., PA.

horizon of the sea, it falls upon a succession of towns, villages, farms, churches, colleges, furnaces, factories, mills, workshops and school houses, forming a picture of river, valley, plain, mountain and city, rarely equalled, and nowhere surpassed on the continent.

It was the impress of this rare picture upon the mind of the Irish bard, Tom Moore, who, when bidding farewell to it, wrote:

> The stranger is gone—but he will not forget
> When at home he shall talk of the toil he has known,
> To tell, with a sigh, what endearments he met,
> As he strayed by the wave of the Schuylkill alone.

It is not, however, the picture of the country, as it appeared geographically, a century ago, or even the pleasing contrast suggested by the boundless wealth and numberless happy homes of the present, that will give this spot its greatest interest to the Centennial visitor in 1876. The historical associations of the place, dear to every lover of freedom, make these changeless hills, consecrated as they have been by the unbroken devotion and unselfish suffering of an oft defeated, but unyielding army of brave men, a sacred spot, to which the loving pilgrims of liberty from the remotest parts of the wide world may come, and learn anew, from the heroic example and immolated lives of our common Fatherhood, the cost of that political and religious liberty we celebrate.

We have said that a change has come over the spirit of the scene; but to understand this transformation, worked out by enterprise, skill and industry, we must reverse the wheels of time, roll them back for a century, stand beside stout old Mawritz and Gunnar Rambo, Matts Holstein, Swan Swanson, and other famous Nimrods of the wilderness, sons of the Vikings of northern Europe, who now sleep the sleep of the just, beneath the sod in the shadow of the old Swedes' church.

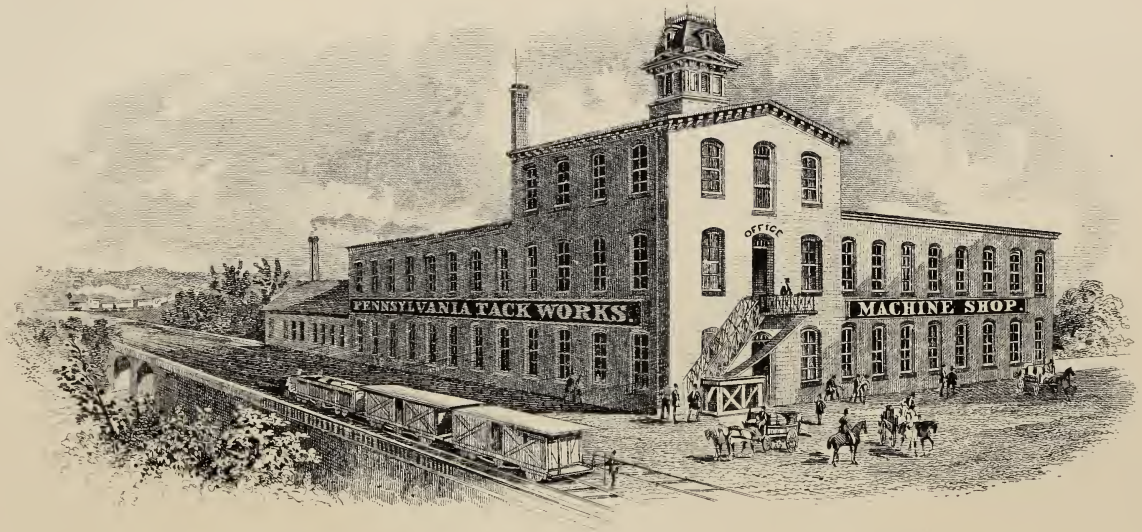
Stand then, with us, under the shade of a broad spreading maple on the rising grounds, south of the Schuylkill, opposite Norristown, and adjust your field glass, as the leaves overhead tremble in the summer breeze and the slant beams of the setting sun cast broad shadows eastward.

The howling wilderness is around you. To the right, bending toward the east, the virgin forest rests in almost unbroken silence;

the dark shadows of the Gulf Hills thrust themselves deep into the foreground, and encroach upon the small clearings, marked by blackened stumps, as if jealous of man's approach. Maple mixes with scrub oak and thicket, upon the border of the reclaimed land; the feathery fronds of the tamarack brush the dew from the primrose, and the eye can hardly discern the line of distinction where nature ends and industry begins the picture.

Sweep the horizon with your glass, and you will find the scene repeated on every side. From the river in the foreground, to the summit of the hills forming the sky-line, the almost unbroken forest forms the picture, with here and there an opening; the tinkling of a distant bell, or the bark of a watch dog alone giving life or animation to the landscape. But these woods and lonely roads have echoed the rumble and roar of Knox's heavy guns, his tumbrils and caissons; the dew has been brushed from the wayside flowers by those demi-gods of the revolution, Washington, Steuben, Lafayette, Hamilton, Lee and others. as they rode at speed on their way up the valley.

The people of those days were simple and primitive in their wants and ways. The good wife, (and there were heroines in those days, though they knew it not,) carded the wool grown by her own flock; she spun it, warp and woof, placed it in her home-made loom, wove it into cloth, dyed it with chemicals of her own manufacture, perhaps the homely butternut, made it into clothing, and sent her husband and sons to market or to meeting, to church or to the battle, in her own humble, homespun uniform. The sturdy yeoman traveled wearily a-foot, perhaps to the forge or grist mill. The Forge up the valley from which the latter has gained a name that will be famous for all time, was a noted gathering place for the young men and the farmers of the vicinity. Each had to wait his turn, for in those days every horse shoe and nail had to be beaten out by many heavy and laborious strokes of the hammer, by strength, and sinew and brawn, and at a large expenditure of time, patience and muscle. Doors, windows and floors were secured with wrought nails at an enormous expense; the coulter of the plow was sharpened once a year, when the strength and dexterity of the


PENNSYLVANIA TACK WORKS.
OFFICE
MACHINE SHOP.

smith and his helper were taxed to the uttermost, while the wooden mould-board was always in a shattered condition, owing to the rude shocks it received in colliding with stones and blazed stumps.

Yes, man in that age was primitive in his ways and wants, but with increasing population, free government and free schools, came new wants, and new men to meet them. Each succeeding year infused new blood into the young country, energy, enterprise, new ideas, expanded ideas, far-reaching into the future, and working in the present with a will as indomitable in its iron energy, as it was admirably adapted to accomplish its purpose by its consummate skill.

We cannot here pause to trace the steps by which this gradation from absolute inertia of commerce, to its present magnificent proportions, was accomplished. We have now but to turn the glass to the scene at our feet, and read what the energy and skill of man has accomplished in a hundred years.

Our beautiful town has sprung up as it were by magic, her fine edifices, graceful church spires, handsome shade trees and gardens, public buildings and broad river, each has its charm, and each lends grace to the scene.

We have just alluded briefly to the primitive state of trade and manufactures in the old times, a hundred years ago ; let us see what they are to-day.

The reader need have no fear that we are about to enter upon a mere dry statement of statistics in tabular form, showing how many spindles, looms, &c., we can now employ in the Schuylkill Valley, we have no such object in view. It is true that we have looms enough in our own locality to manufacture cloth sufficient for our State population, that our iron works, when in operation are among the foremost of their class, but with these we have nothing to do, our object is to select one industry from the many, it having no rival in the Commonwealth, and by contrast show the enormous strides which have been made within the century, and before we proceed we request the reader to turn back for a moment to the illustration we herewith present. He will then perceive that it is that of the Pennsylvania Tack Works of Norristown and is the

property of the firm of C. P. Weaver & Co., of this place.* This comparatively new industry finds a congenial soil here and under the management of its enterprising proprietors, it is in a most flourishing condition. Firmly rooted in a rocky nook on the bank of Stony Creek, one of the confluents of the Schuylkill, and built of solid masonry, the mill seems sufficiently strong to withstand the ravages of time or storm ; within it is a model of neatness, cleanliness, and systematic industry, and the arrangements are not only made with a view to the interest of the employers but for the convenience and comfort of those employed. The stranger visiting these works is astonished with the rapidity with which tacks and nails of all kinds, sizes and qualities, are produced, and with the beautiful precision of the work. We speak advisedly when we rank this establishment among the very foremost on either continent in all the great essentials required by tradesmen and consumers. There are in all about seven hundred different grades and sizes of their regular make on their shelves at all times from the two and one-half inch nail to the small tack, one thirty-second of an inch in length, all perfect in form and finish, and there seems positively to be no limit to their capacity for production.

We have thus particularized, because the intelligent European who shall be attracted by the Centennial Exposition, will, by no means, confine his observations to the sights and scenes of Philadelphia. The noted grounds of the revolutionary struggle are closely studied by men in the British Isles, and on the continent of Europe. Englishmen, of every creed and shade of politics, have a deep reverence for the memory, and a just appreciation of the character of the great and good George Washington, and in tracing his footsteps, they, with other national representatives, will be with us. With them they bring eminently practical minds, keen habits of observation, and what they see they will relate now, and in years to come.

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* Captain Charles P. Weaver, the active manager of the works, has recently invented a nail making machine, to be applied to a certain class of manufactured goods that will probably revolutionize the trade. It is but one-fifth the weight of the machines now in general use, and produces 30 per cent. more manufactured material in the same time. Six of these beautiful machines will be on view and in operation at the Great Centennial Exposition.

We purposely give prominence to this intricate branch of skilled industry, which, under a wise and liberal management, has become permanently identified with the historic grounds surrounding the Park adjacent to Philadelphia, because, first, none better serve to represent the progress made in the details of utilizing the wealth of minerals underlying and enriching the great Schuylkill Valley, and second, because none more fittingly and exhaustively illustrate by contrast, THE FORGE, as it was a hundred years ago. Furnace, factory, foundry and forge, have always been the ministering handmaids to wealth, art and science. To these sources of material development, progress and power, the public men and measures of Pennsylvania have always been, with rare exceptions, consistently devoted, with resulting advantages of railroad, mine, mill and mechanics, fruitful in the growth of a city of a hundred thousand homes, and the internal wealth of a State inhabited by four millions of provident people, producing annually a large excess over home wants.

To this marvellous development we are indebted beyond computation, to the heroic men of the Revolution, who gave scope to human freedom, ingenuity, industry and enterprise, by sundering the political ties that remorselessly made us tributary to home pride, wealth and power. In justification of this act of revolution, the responsibilities assumed, and the severance that followed, the children of no one of the old colonies, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, or yet of the new, from Maine to California, will exhibit to the wondering eyes of an astonished mother country, or admiring world, a more fruitful harvest of earth's true riches, or give to the people of every clime who come to view them, a warmer or more hospitable welcome, than those who live within the shadow, and cherish the history and traditions of Valley Forge.

## CHAPTER IX.

## VALLEY FORGE TO-DAY.

Our volume would be incomplete were we to omit a chapter dedicated to the present condition of this classic spot, and to the worthy

residents of the village who take no ordinary pride in the colal history of the famous camp ground.

Of the long lines of redoubts and rifle pits behind which the patriot of a hundred years since marched his weary rounds, but little remains, yet, by the aid of the map we furnish, sufficient indications of the intrenchments can be discovered, and the general bearings of the camp located.

We here make brief mention of a few of the leading men of the locality, to whose thrift and industry the growing prosperity of the village is to be attributed.

Isaac W. Smith, at whose woolen factory a large number of hands are employed stands foremost on the file. To his enlightened and liberal ideas and progressive spirit the community of Valley Forge stands deeply indebted. His means and his time are freely bestowed, not only upon such enterprises as may be conducive to the commercial and financial prosperity of the locality, but he is liberal in every good work that has a tendency to elevate his fellow men, both morally and intellectually.

In this connection we will mention Mrs. Sarah A. Shaw, sister of Mr. Smith, a lady who owns considerable property in the village and neighborhood, and who is now living retired upon her property.

Charles H. Rogers, is a large landed proprietor, owning 200 acres in the vicinity.

Stanley L. Ogden, is landlord of the Valley Forge Mansion Hotel, located a short distance up the hill from Washington's headquarters.

This noted building, the Pott's Mansion is the property of a widow lady, Mrs. Hannah Ogden, who keeps the premises in good condition, everything being precisely as when occupied by the General-in-chief. Visitors to the Valley will not fail to visit this glorious old historic mansion.

Isaiah Knaur, runs a paper mill in the village, which industry is in a prosperous condition under the management of Mr. W. Thomas.

Nathan H. Jones, a retired farmer, is a prominent citizen, as are Messrs. J. R. Mulvaney and John H. Rowan, merchants of the

locality, nor ought we neglect honorable mention of Mr. Daniel Webster, the courteous agent of the Reading Railroad Company, stationed at the Forge.

There are several beneficial societies in the village:

Valley Forge Lodge, I. O. of O. F., No. 459. The present officers are N. G., I. W. Smith; J. G., B. R. Thomas; Secretary, D. W. Rhoads; Treasurer, Jno. B. Roberts; Chaplain, Rev. Edward P. Hawes. Present membership, 33.

Sons of Temperance, Instituted 1872, has 20 members and the following officers: Julia Moore, Worthy Patriarch; Alex. Smith, Recording Scribe; N. Jones, Treasurer; Wm. H. Jones, Financial Scribe.

P. O. of S. A., thirty-four members; names of officers: President, Anthony W. Conway; Vice-President, Mahlon Raudenbush; Recording Secretary, John S. Raudenbush; Treasurer, David H. Moyer.

Sovereigns of Industry, Mutual Counsel, No. 60: President, John Vanderslice; Vice-President, Mrs. Faith Taheman; Recording Secretary, David H. Moyer; Treasurer, Miss Maggie Marshall.

We hereto annex a short history of one of the oldest families, of this celebrated historic ground. Many such histories belong to the old pioneers of the Valley, but our limited space forbids more than a brief mention of

### THE THROPP FAMILY.

Colonel Christian Workizer, a highly educated German officer, came to America as aide-de-camp to General Wolfe. When the French war closed, after the death of his young and gallant commander, Colonel Workizer retired from the army, and, having married a French lady, Mademoiselle Girardin, of Quebec, he came to Chester county, Pennsylvania, and settled, buying lands on which are now situated the village of Howelville, and some adjacent farms.

Colonel Workizer became the father of several daughters and two sons, John and Jacob, all born near Howelville.

Jacob, a fine Latin scholar, wrote for the Philadelphia papers,

was early engaged to an accomplished lady, Miss Evans, but died of consumption before the marriage was consummated.

John Workizer, who inherited the village of Howelville, married Miss Mary Turner, daughter of a rich farmer, whose roomy old homestead still stands near the village of Spring City. The young couple removed to Valley Forge and purchased considerable property in and around the village. In their old homestead at Valley Forge, (now the Mansion House,) six children were born, and some grand children, among the latter, General Galusha Pennypacker, U. S. A., the only living child of the youngest daughter.

The next youngest daughter, Anna Virginia, was a young lady of remarkable beauty and intelligence. Her marriage with the young Englishman, Isaiah Thropp, was somewhat romantic, as an instance of love at first sight.

Isaiah Thropp, born at Wednesbury, Staffordshire, England, July 6th, 1794, was the son of John Thropp and Sarah, daughter of Sir William Wood. Early in life, preferring a republic, he came to America and settled in the South, but the institutions of the section conflicting with his high moral sense, and his ideas of justice and humanity, he determined to remove to New England. On his way North, he passed through Philadelphia, and while there received an invitation from his friend, Mr. Brook Evans, to visit him at Valley Forge. The evening of his arrival, a party was given at Wayside, and there Mr. Thropp first beheld the charming young lady who was to become his bride.

Mr. Thropp sought an introduction, obtained it, and after a short courtship, married her. He then entered the mercantile business, in a store in the village of Valley Forge, belonging to his father-in-law, which he purchased, and continued for fifty years in the one building, and during the whole of that time he was honored and respected by all, for his uprightness, intelligence and great conscientiousness.

The oldest son, John W., died in early manhood. Two of the children, Isaiah Thropp, Jr. and Mrs. Lewis S. Wells, are settled in Washington City, D. C. Two, Charles A. Thropp, and Mrs. G. C. Rogers, in Atlanta, Georgia. Two, Mrs. George Porter and

Miss T. Amelia Thropp, in Oil City, Pennsylvania. The oldest daughter, Mary E. Thropp Cone, is with her husband, the United States Consul to Para, Brazil. One son, Eldon L., remains at Valley Forge, and another, Joseph E. Thropp, of the firm of J. B. Moorhead & Co., resides at Conshohocken, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Isaiah Thropp, who was taken first to her eternal home, was, at the time of her death, aged 62 years, the oldest native inhabitant of Valley Forge.

Mr. Isaiah Thropp followed his wife to her long home in two years thereafter, aged 78, and now, the substantial old homes that have been in the Workizer family for five generations, are all passing into the hands of strangers.

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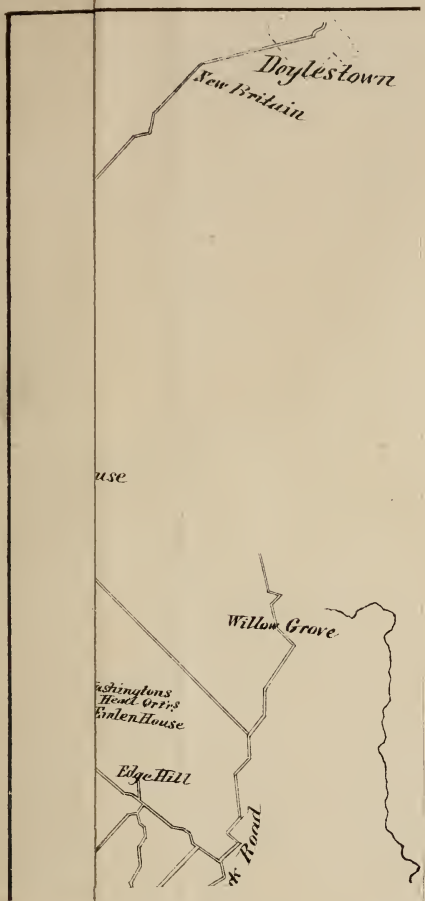
Doylestown
New Britain
use
Willow Grove
Edge Hill
Road

EAST PENNA.
Scale 1/4 in. to the Mile
Geo S. Harris & Sons, Lith. Phila'a.
Glasgow
Pottstown
Crooked Hill
Sumnr Town
Harleysville
Schwenksville
East Branch
Lexington
Doylestown
New Britain
New Hope
Correll's Ferry
Taylorsville
Kulpsville
Montgomery
Montgomery Square
Skippackville
Perkiomen
Trapp
Warwick
Army Ordnance Depot
Coventry
Pughtown
Pigeon Cr.
Evansburg
North Wales
Spring House
Newtown
Trenton
Birchrunville
Kimberton
Phoenixville
Chester Spring
Pine Creek
Jeffersonville
Norristown 1777
Swedes Ford
Germantown
Skippack
Blue Bell
Wissahickon
Fort Washington
Willow Grove
Neshaming
Creek
Tullytown
Valley Forge
Fort Kennedy
Plymouth
Flowertown
Edge Hill
Bridgewater
Bristol
Florence
Swedes Ford Road
King of Prussia
Gulf
Conshohocken
Barren Hill
Chestnut Hill
Old York Road
White Horse
Warren Tavern
Howellville
Reesville
Spread Eagle
Lancaster Road
Paoli
Paoli Monument
Gen. Wayne
State Road
Goshenville
Schuylkill River
Beverly
Burlington
Assicunk Creek
Delaney
Riverton
Lancaster Road
Westchester
Fairview
Crum Creek
Ridley Creek
Rancocas River
Treaty Isd.
PHILADELPHIA
West Branch of Brandywine
Darlingtons Corner
Dilworthtown
Chadds Ford
Kennet Square
State Road
Chester Creek
Chelsea
Cooper's Creek
Newton Creek
Fort Mifflin
Redbank
Chester
Billingsport
Mond
Woodbury Creek
Marcus Hook
Tinicum Isd.
NEW CASTLE
DELE.
DELAWARE RIVER
Killer Isd.
Mantua Creek
Mill Creek
Red Clay Creek
Brandywine
Stanton
Newport
Wilmington
Old Mans Creek
Newark
White Clay Creek